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IN THIS ISSUE

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 293

EDITORIALS
- Same Old Fraud 295
- France After Invasion 296
- Dead Men Don't Blab 297

ARTICLES
- Boss McCormick's Men *by Willard Shelton* 298
- 75 Years Ago in *The Nation* 299
- Program of Action *by Freda Kirchwey* 300
- Outflanking the Japanese *by Donald W. Mitchell* 305
- In the Wind 307

POLITICAL WAR
- French Democracy Gets to Work *by Jules Moch* 308
- Ten Points for Peace 309
- Behind the Enemy Line *by Argus* 310

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
- A Carriage from Sweden *by Marianne Moore* 311
- The DAE *by George Genzmer* 311
- Progressive Liberal Education *by Sidney Hook* 312
- Land of the Louche *by James Stern* 314
- Guides to India *by Krishnalal Shridharani* 314
- Films *by James Agee* 316
- Music *by B. H. Haggin* 317

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 318

CROSS-WORD PUZZLE NO. 55 *by Jack Barrett* 320

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The Shape of Things

IF WE COULD OFFER THE FINNS A TEXT FOR action, it would be: "Agree with your adversary while thou art in the way with him." The armistice terms proposed by the Soviet government make no demands for territorial concessions, for occupation by Russian troops, or for any change in government. They are far from harsh but they are hard because they put on Finland the responsibility of disarming and interning the Nazi troops whom they so ill-advisedly invited to enter the country. Russia could scarcely ask less and it would certainly be contrary to American and British interests to allow seven German divisions to escape for service in the west. Disregarding such facts, some of our professional Russophobes have been thrown completely off balance by the contrast between the Russian proposals and their own lurid forecasts of Carthaginian terms. Thus two days after the official Moscow communique was published, Hearst's New York *Daily Mirror* issued a fierce denunciation of Soviet plans based on "the minimum terms Russia has served on Finland, according to diplomatic sources in Washington." This unreliable authority included among the alleged Soviet demands unconditional surrender, occupation of Finland's chief cities, and the placing of all Finnish air and sea bases at Russia's disposal. Is it possible that the Hearst editors were ignorant of the actual Russian terms, or were they deliberately falsifying?

*

THE SUSPENSION OF SHIPMENTS TO TURKEY of American and British war supplies can only be taken as indication of a serious setback for the United Nations. Turkey's recent coolness toward Britain and the United States is usually ascribed to our unwillingness to meet her rather exorbitant demand for arms as a price for entering the war. There would seem, however, to be little doubt that Turkey's demands have risen with the decline of American and British fortunes of war in the Mediterranean. Four months ago, when it looked as if the Allies would be in Rome before Christmas, the Turks were apparently prepared to be reasonable in their demands. But the unanticipated strength of German resistance in Italy and the failure of the Allies to establish additional fronts in Europe has caused the Turkish leaders to resume their originally cautious role. At the moment the chief hope for another reversal in the trend of Turkish policy

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lies in Bulgaria. Should the current crop of peace rumors involving the Bulgars bear fruit and the Germans be forced out of Bulgaria, it is quite possible that Turkey might suddenly see the advantages of entering the United Nations' camp as an active belligerent.

*

AMERICANS MAY TAKE JUSTIFIABLE PRIDE IN the tremendous contribution of lend-lease to the Russian war effort that is revealed in the current report. It is particularly encouraging to note that our shipments have kept pace with the increasing tempo of the Red Army offensives. More than 5,000 combat planes were sent to Russia in 1943, more than 800 of them in November and December. Perhaps even more significant in view of Russia's ever-lengthening lines of communication was the delivery of upward of 100,000 trucks, or double the number sent in 1942. More than half of the nearly 6,000,000 tons of food shipped under lend-lease was earmarked for the Soviets. While our assistance may not seem large compared with Russia's own war production, it may well have been enough to provide the margin between victory and defeat on the Russian front—and in the European war as a whole. For we have not only supplemented Soviet production but we have filled in the chinks in Russia's economic defenses by shipping machinery and critical war materials that could not possibly have been obtained elsewhere. Obviously, this aid must not stop now that the war is entering its most violent and critical stage. The continuation of lend-lease is so clearly indispensable to the winning of the war that, like victory itself, it is an objective on which there is no room for partisan differences.

*

THE SEIZURE OF THE ADMIRALTY ISLANDS represents another important leap in the revised form of island-hopping described in this issue by Donald W. Mitchell. The main Japanese bases at Rabaul and Kavieng have been by-passed. Undoubtedly they will be occupied in due time but not until they have been so weakened that they can be seized without great cost. Meanwhile, the navy continues to pursue its offensive in the Central Pacific with great vigor. Wake, the remaining Marshall atolls, and the Carolines are being subjected to almost daily attacks. But on the third prong of the Allied offensive, that directed by Lord Louis Mountbatten, progress has been extremely slow. Although Mountbatten's forces successfully repelled a Japanese counter-attack in the Arakan sector of the Burma front with heavy losses to the enemy, the main drive on Burma has not even started and presumably cannot be launched until after the rainy season. Only in the mountains of North Burma, where General Stilwell's Chinese forces have driven halfway across the narrow neck of the country, has any real progress been achieved. The delay in Mountbatten's offensive may possibly indicate that the United Nations are planning to open a supply route to China in some other way than through Burma. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Japanese position would be much worse than it now is if major Allied forces were also closing in from this sector.

*

REPUBLICANS ARE HAILING THE NARROW margin by which the Democratic candidate, James H. Torrens, won in the normally "safe" Twenty-first New York Congressional District as another indication of a country-wide trend against the Administration. Actually, Mr. Torrens rolled up a fairly convincing majority except in the parts of Harlem that are included in the district. In Harlem, however, Mr. Torrens fared very badly, losing some precincts that were carried by President Roosevelt in 1940 by seven and eight to one. That a large number of Negroes have recently abandoned their support of the Administration and returned to the Republican fold is a fact on which there can be no dispute. This tendency appears to account, in part at least, for the recent Republican successes in Kentucky and for the election of a Republican in a special Congressional election in Philadelphia some weeks ago. To some it may seem ironic that Negroes should turn against the Administration in view of the President's establishment of the Fair Employment Practice Committee to war against discrimination. From the Negro's point of view, however, the FEPC has been a farce, and some Negroes openly blame Mr. Roosevelt for its ineffectiveness. And many others who still possess a high regard for Mr. Roosevelt personally have come to the conclusion that there can be no hope for justice from a party so largely dominated by the advocates of "white supremacy." The Democratic cause in New York, for example, can hardly have been aided by the action of the Democratic legislature of South Carolina on the day of the election denouncing those seeking the "co-mingling of the races on any basis of equality . . . as being hostile to . . . the preservation of the American Union."

*

THE PRESENT STATE OF MEDICAL ETHICS IS revealed in stark ugliness in a report submitted by the Moreland Act Commissioners of New York covering the operation of the Workmen's Compensation Law. It is disclosed that for years workers in New York City have been kept from obtaining either the medical care or the compensation to which they are entitled by rings of licensed representatives, lawyers, and doctors. The report charges that in order to swell the profits of these rings "workers have been subjected to inefficient treatment, over-treatment, and even to unnecessary and harmful

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operations which left them disabled, sometimes totally." These illegal profits are distributed among the physicians operating with the rings by means of an elaborate system of kickbacks. The commissioners list the names of some 3,000 doctors in New York City alone who are known to be involved in this fee-splitting. Although such kickbacks are in direct violation of both the laws of the state and the official code of the medical profession, the medical societies of New York City made no effort to curb the practice. Yet these same medical societies have shown great zeal and resourcefulness in campaigning against the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill for the creation of a national health insurance system which, it is alleged, would destroy the physician's "personal interest" in his patient, and thus result in a "forfeture of self-respect." We wonder.

*

THE STAFF OF *THE NATION* HAS LOST, temporarily, one of its most valuable members, Robert Bendiner, who has this week gone into the army. We do not begrudge him to the service, but we shall miss him and we shall miss his writing. Particularly during the coming months of political struggle, Mr. Bendiner's acute and vigorous comment would have been a valuable addition to the pages of this journal; he has a feeling for political realities that will be hard to duplicate. He takes with him the affection and high hopes of his colleagues, who will welcome his return as one of the intimate blessings of peace. . . . The position of managing editor, held by Mr. Bendiner from 1937 until last fall, has been filled by J. King Gordon, who comes to *The Nation* from the editorial staff of Farrar and Rinehart. We are fortunate to have Mr. Gordon on our board. In his former position he handled most of the books dealing with politics, labor, social problems, the war, and foreign policy, and his whole experience has been in the field of public affairs.

Same Old Fraud

THE measure that emerged last week-end from the Senate-House conference on soldier-vote legislation was euphemistically advertised as a compromise, but that happy label has rarely been so cynically misapplied. Despite the long and angry debate over "constitutional" issues, service men will judge any ballot bill enacted in Congress by a simple standard: does it give the overwhelming majority of soldiers and sailors a real chance to vote? This bill emphatically does not. Representative John E. Rankin of Mississippi, who is less subtle than some of his colleagues in indicating his fear of a large soldier vote, has conceded that this legislation has merit and that, with "minor revisions," it might even bear his name. The amazing thing is that any of the conferees should believe that anyone will be deceived by the new version of the original fraud.

In deference to public protests the new bill does provide for the printing of federal ballots; but the conditions it establishes for their use make it fairly certain that these ballots will be as rare as collectors' items. For one thing they are restricted to service men stationed outside the United States; Senator Hatch has pointed out that this provision appears to nullify existing federal laws which waive registration and poll-tax requirements for all service men, whether located here or abroad. But even a member of the armed forces abroad will have less than a fighting chance to use the ballot. He can apply for one only if the legislature of his native state has declared, by August 1, that it will recognize the federal ballot. A spokesman for the Council of State Governments has acknowledged that not more than one-third of the state legislatures will have met by that date, and not all of them are certain to take affirmative action. Thus service men from a majority of the states will not even be eligible to request a federal ballot. The soldier fortunate enough to come from a state that has validated the federal machinery may then proceed to try to use it, but he will need to be persistent. First he must submit his application for a state ballot no later than September 1. Then comes a thirty-day intermission. If the state ballot has not arrived by October 1, the soldier or sailor must declare under oath that he has tried and failed to get a state ballot. Then he may ask for a federal ballot.

The bill indicates that the Republicans, having precipitated a major struggle over the soldier-vote issue, are now determined to fight to the finish. Possibly the outcry that the debate has produced has convinced them that a large soldier vote would now be more dangerous than ever. For the nature of the debate has clearly identified foes of a simple federal ballot as foes of President Roosevelt; and if the service men were now to get a real opportunity to participate in the election, there is no doubt that their bitterness over this conspiracy would redound to the benefit of the President. It is questionable whether any alternative offers much hope to the G. O. P. If the proposed bill is enacted, millions of men will be robbed of their voting rights; but political commentators are increasingly agreed that the resentment of the troops will be mirrored in the voting attitude of many families at home. One observer has remarked that "for every soldier vote the President loses, he may get two instead—from a father or mother."

The President has said that he will turn thumbs down on any legislation that permits fewer men to vote than does the woefully inadequate 1942 law. Given the Barkley episode, another Presidential veto would obviously be more explosive than in normal circumstances; yet we wonder how many legislators would care to engage in a running debate with the President on this issue, or would be moved to tearful resignations by a veto. Throughout the soldier vote controversy there has been

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a mood of guilt and defensiveness among the men opposing a simple, uniform federal ballot. Now, with conservative newspapers joining in criticism of the new House-Senate bill, with the *Herald Tribune* and the Washington *Post* and many others exposing its inadequacies, the conferees have even less reason to believe they are getting away with it.

If Congress approves this legislation, we hope that the President will strongly challenge the master minds who have spent so much time devising ways of thwarting the soldier vote; if he signs it, he should do so only under vigorous protest and with a clear-cut analysis of its deficiencies. The guiding spirits behind this new fraud are men who are chiefly animated by the desire to "get" Roosevelt; they are also, in many cases, the same men who have berated the President for putting "politics" ahead of war. But this issue, perhaps better than any other in sight, gives Mr. Roosevelt a chance to lay before the people his case against the Congressional obstructionists. In fact they may have fashioned the issue on which the President can get a rejuvenated, progressive Congress in November.

France After Invasion

THE ADMINISTRATION has never been backward in enunciating fine principles. It has always been willing to talk broadly of the restoration of Europe's liberties and of the extension of international economic cooperation. But it has been slow in translating these generalizations into concrete terms, and in the meantime its day-to-day policies in regard to European affairs have been flavored with a reactionary opportunism that arouses the gravest suspicions of American postwar intentions.

There is clearly a great need of abandoning hand-to-mouth diplomacy and negotiating definite agreements which can be judged on the basis of their correspondence with our democratic professions. We welcome, therefore, reports from Washington and London that Acting Secretary of State Stettinius will shortly proceed to England for a series of political and economic conversations with British and other Allied officials. If all the subjects mentioned are discussed the agenda will be a crowded one. Among economic questions, oil, communications, shipping, air transport, and the future of lend-lease are of outstanding importance. But still more urgent are those political problems on which a basis of agreement, at least, is vital before the invasion of Europe gets under way. Of these none is more pressing than the way in which civil government is to be restored in the liberated countries.

It is understood that an agreement on this matter has been negotiated with the Norwegian government-in-exile and that similar conventions are under discussion with the Dutch and Belgians. One of the questions still to be answered, it is said, is who is to determine that conditions are such that civil government can be restored. Is this to be left solely to the discretion of the Allied military commander or are the refugee governments, who are supposed to take the view that the civil administration should take over as soon as fighting ceases, to be allowed a voice in the matter? And what about the officials who have continued at their posts during the German occupation? Who is to be the judge of their loyalty?

These questions are posed with especial sharpness in the case of France owing to the long-continued American liaison with Vichy and the many unfortunate and unsuccessful efforts to mold the French regime in North Africa in accordance with the State Department's prejudices. Yet it is essential that provision should be made without delay for the administration of France as soon as any appreciable portion of it is freed from the enemy. A recent dispatch from London in the New York *Herald Tribune* asserted that the draft of a plan for handing over the civil administration of France to the Committee of National Liberation has been approved by the British Foreign Office, the State Department, and General Eisenhower, but is now frozen on President Roosevelt's desk. This report has been denied by Mr. Stettinius, who says that the French Committee's future role is still under study.

However long that study continues we are certain that the State Department will not find any practical alternative to conceding General de Gaulle and the Committee of National Liberation the right to undertake the provisional administration of liberated France. What other substitute could we propose? We could not conceivably turn to the Vichy government, an acknowledged creature of the Nazis which is weekly slaughtering scores of French patriots. That would be to compound the errors of our Italian policy with lunacy, and, indeed, it has been reported without denial that we have given assurances to De Gaulle that there will be no dealings with Pétain and his crew.

Are we then going to attempt to govern France by means of AMG until the American and British governments judge the time ripe to permit the French people to have their promised say about their future? This proposition is equally invalid. It would put our armies in the position of conquerors rather than liberators; it would attract to our administrative headquarters the kind of intriguers who have swarmed in Vichy, around the German Command in France and, for a time, around the American Consul-General's office in Algiers; it would damn French-American friendship for a century.

Our wisest course in regard to France is to give the French Committee of National Liberation the recogni-

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tion it has earned and let it proceed with the resuscitation of democratic France at the earliest possible moment. No doubt it will make some mistakes but they will be French mistakes and far less fatal than Anglo-American blunders. Of those the North African record shows more than enough. Even in terms of expediency we have failed miserably and De Gaulle, whom we tried so hard to pull down, is more firmly seated than ever. Nevertheless, despite accusations of dictatorial ambitions he shows no signs of becoming "a man on horseback." On the contrary, it is clear that the Provisional Consultative Assembly, as Jules Moch points out on a later page of this issue, is functioning actively as a representative body. It accepts De Gaulle's leadership but in no servile fashion, insisting on the right to criticize, to modify policy, and to demand information. French democracy is emerging from its ordeal in sound shape, and we had best leave it to work out its own destiny.

Dead Men Don't Blab

IT WILL be too bad if the late Charles E. Bedaux is allowed to sink into limbo without causing more than a one-day ripple in the headlines. For the history of the industrial efficiency expert, who died on February 18 when he was due to face a grand-jury investigation into his relations with the Nazis, is an instructive one. Bedaux is best remembered by the workers of this country as the originator of the "stretch-out" system and for that his name is execrated by millions. But far more deadly for democracy was his work here and in Europe as a fascist agent and promoter.

Some of that story was published after Bedaux's death by the Department of Justice but the department either does not know all that is worth telling or it does not choose to make public all it knows. Its release gave a number of details about Bedaux's associations with prominent Nazis from 1937 on. We are told about his friendship with Abetz, Wiedemann, and Schacht and his visit to the home of von Ribbentrop in August, 1939. After the fall of France, we learn, he traveled constantly between Vichy and Paris as intermediary between Abetz and the Pétain government. We are not told, however, about his trip to Athens in 1941 when, on behalf of the German government, he negotiated the sell-out of two Greek generals.

When America entered the war, the department's dossier informs us, Bedaux was under nominal arrest for two months but his friendship with Nazi and Vichy officials continued. He gave the German military authorities information from his company files about the Persian Gulf oil refineries and was appointed as Expert in Economic Projects to the German military administration in France. The most grandiose of the projects he conceived was one for a pipe-line running from Senegal, the center of the African peanut industry, to the Mediterranean—the object being to make supplies of vegetable oils available to the Germans and thus help overcome the fat shortage. To further this scheme he went to North Africa armed with credentials from Laval and priorities from the German authorities for steel pipe and pumping machinery. He also carried, though the Department of Justice does not mention the fact, credentials from General Stuelpnagel, German governor of Paris.

Bedaux's African plans were upset by the Anglo-American invasion in November, 1942, and shortly afterward he was arrested, not by order of General Eisenhower as some reports have stated, but by the Military Security section of the French *Deuxième Bureau,* which was headed at that time by Colonel Crétien. a stalwart anti-collaborationist. Investigators of the bureau prepared an elaborate dossier on the prisoner in which the most damning item was his possession of a questionnaire issued by the German army seeking information on British and American military equipment, available ship tonnages, and Allied battle order.

Such a document, it need hardly be said, is fairly strong prima facie evidence of espionage, and it is not surprising that when officers of the FBI arrived in Algiers they should have taken a great interest in it. What is surprising is that, according to information we have received from very reliable French African sources, these FBI agents were apparently anxious to break down this evidence. They subjected the investigators of the *Deuxième Bureau* to a severe interrogation, attempted to get them to withdraw the charges against Bedaux, accused them of "planting" the questionnaire, and finally of being in the pay "of some agency of the American government controlled by Communists."

This is a very extraordinary way of hunting down traitors and one, we think, which would bear further investigation. But so would a number of other questions connected with the last months of Charles Bedaux. Why, for instance, was he removed from French custody? On what grounds was he given the benefit of American citizenship and saved from a French military court? Under a common sense interpretation of the law his naturalization would appear to have become ineffective owing to his long residence abroad. Finally why, when he was in detention, was he permitted an opportunity to accumulate sufficient luminal to enable him to choose his own time of exit?

Charles Bedaux had many influential friends but a vast host of enemies—all the democrats of the world. It is, however, his enemies who should mourn his death for if he had lived until he had told all they might have learned much to their advantage. Many of his friends, on the other hand, probably heard the news cheerfully. If they sighed at all, it was a sigh of relief.

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Boss McCormick's Men

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Chicago, February 21

ONCE upon a time the Chicago *Tribune's* indorsement was the kiss of death for a political candidate in Illinois. It was commonly said, and with reason, that people bought Colonel McCormick's newspaper to learn its views and vote the other way. But McCormick candidates were victorious in the 1940 and 1942 state elections, and the voting this year will show whether a Republican machine has been created in Illinois—an isolationist and reactionary machine—that is more powerful even than the Kelly-Nash Democratic organization in Chicago was in its dictatorial heyday.

Curly Brooks

McCormick's ticket for 1944 consists of Dwight Green for reelection as Governor, Stephen A. Day for reelection as Congressman-at-Large, and Richard J. Lyons for Senator against the Democratic incumbent, Scott W. Lucas, plus whatever Presidential aspirant comes closest to the Colonel's taste. It won't be Willkie, of course, and perhaps not Dewey, for McCormick has read both these gentlemen out of the Republican Party. He obviously prefers General MacArthur or some nonentity like Bricker.

Dwight Green as Governor of Illinois has himself been a successful nonentity. His administration has been undistinguished and routine, and now he is apparently entirely willing to use his power as Governor to present a slate of exclusively tory-isolationist candidates in the primaries. One of his campaign slogans in 1940 was, "There will never be a Green machine," but the machine is functioning ruthlessly to crush any rebellion from Republicans with internationalist views. Governor Green himself popped up on the foreign-relations committee at the Republican Mackinac conference, and was reputedly responsible for the weasel words about "sovereignty" and "constitutionalism" with which isolationists hope to destroy a decent peace.

About Lyons, the Senatorial candidate on the Green slate, it is sufficient to say that he probably could be depended on to make "Curly" Brooks, the *Tribune's* present Senator in Washington, look like a mild liberal. Brooks has seldom had a thought not previously printed in a McCormick editorial; Lyons might furnish the Colonel himself with a few reactionary ideas. A veteran state politician who once served in Congress, Lyons is widely unpopular. Labor is against him, and business groups are not for him; yet he is on the slate. Though he was beaten for the Senate by Lucas in 1938, that does not mean he will be beaten in 1944. The atmosphere in Illinois has changed.

The atmosphere in Illinois, indeed, is something for the rest of the nation to observe with care. Roosevelt carried the state narrowly in 1940; in other contests the Republicans were almost universally successful, electing Green, Brooks, and the Honorable Mr. Day, who in 1933 cabled congratulations to Hitler on his rise to power and in 1941 published an anti-British book through Flanders Hall, a Nazi propaganda mill. There is no sign that Illinois is sick of this crowd.

The Chicago *Daily News,* Secretary Knox's newspaper, doesn't like Lyons, but for months it has neglected to campaign against him. Some Republicans resent the apparent capture of their party by its worst elements. Representative Dirksen of Peoria played with the idea of running against Lyons but preferred not to risk his seniority in the House without some organization support, and finally decided to seek the personal advertising of an alleged campaign for the Presidency. Deneen Watson, former leader of a Republican internationalist group, has filed for Senator against Lyons, but so far has obtained little organized support.

No strong candidate has dared file against Congressman Day, though Governor Green hesitated for weeks before coming out for him. Elmer J. Schnackenberg, speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives, was at one time mentioned as a rival, but "at a certain point," as some G. O. P. professionals put it, "ran up against a stone wall." Day's backing was too strong.

The chief opposition to the Green-*Tribune* machine is likely to come from a youngster named William G. Stratton, at present state Treasurer, who is bucking the organization to seek the nomination for Secretary of State. Stratton's father was a famous Illinois vote-getter, and the son has the same talent. But this "anti-machine" candidate has talked the isolationist line as smoothly as any other Illinois Republican who thinks he knows which side his bread is buttered on. The only issue in his challenge is whether the patronage-rich job of Secretary of State will go to a man who might use it to

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strengthen his personal machine or will continue to be controlled by the Green organization.

Under the circumstances it seems inevitable that the isolationist-reactionaries and their satellites will emerge from the primaries in April as masters of the Republican Party in Illinois. Governor Green could, if he wished, throw off their domination, but he does not choose to do so. Republican leaders are confident of winning the election, basing their claim on the admitted disaffection of farmers, plus the assumption that both American Federation of Labor unions and the United Mine Workers will vote against Mr. Roosevelt. If Colonel McCormick can get two Senators, a Governor, and a state organization committed to his brand of nationalism, he will have scored a notable victory. A large part of the *Tribune's* circulation, furthermore, is in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Indiana, where its impact is not to be ignored. Republicans in this area do not like to oppose the *Tribune*. One of the factors holding down Willkie in Illinois—in addition to the real bitterness of some persons against him—is the journalistic punishment visited upon those who boldly support his views. The power McCormick wields in the state Republican Party is not weakened even by the *Tribune's* refusal to campaign in earnest against the Kelly Democratic organization in Chicago municipal politics.

The rising Illinois Republican machine, in short, is more devious than the old-fashioned city or state organization with which America is familiar, and equally corrupt. It is as ruthless in handpicking candidates as Ed Crump of Memphis. It is cynically uninterested in rescuing the state and Chicago from the evils of local misgovernment. It adds, under isolationist overlordship, a spirit of malignant domestic and international toryism scarcely found in any other area.

The vote of the Illinois Republican delegation on the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation authorization is proof of what McCormick domination means. Illinois G. O. P. Representatives split eleven to five against American support of this plan to feed the hungry and rebuild the agricultural economy of war-ruined nations—though Midwestern Republicans generally supported the program. It was Vursell of Illinois who helped sponsor the House bill to deprive soldiers, in the name of "states' rights," of an effective voting plan. In the House vote on the Worley federal ballot bill the eighteen Republicans from Illinois were unanimously against it.

If there is to be any primary revolt which might defeat Lyons and Day, it can come only from the belated sense of decency of a few party leaders, balancing their fear of reprisals against their better instincts. Whether *Tribune*-dictated nominees can be beaten in the November elections depends on whether Illinois, a normally Republican state, revolts against a regime swayed by McCormick's hates and fears.

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

TWICE DURING THE DEBATES of the present session of the Prussian Diet Count Bismarck has quite distinctly alluded to the late imminence of a French war against the North German Federation. . . . The danger to Prussia from the side of Rumania was also referred to by Bismarck as having been fortunately repressed by a peremptory word from the former.—*March 4, 1869.*

MESSRS. APPLETON & CO. announce . . . "The Principles of Psychology, Part I.—Data of Psychology," by Mr. Herbert Spencer.—*March 11, 1869.*

WE MAY PERHAPS have said a word too much when recently we charged Pennsylvania with being the most corrupt state in the Union. At all events, we are sure our Philadelphia friends will agree with us that the charge would perhaps have come with a better grace from some journal not published in the city of New York and the state of which Albany is the capital. They will very likely be pleased with the history, which has just been ordered printed, of the bribery and corruption of our last legislature. . . . Still there is no doubt that when Albany is destroyed by fire from heaven, Harrisburg may as well begin to look about her.—*March 18, 1869.*

OUR TWO BEST and oldest universities stand, at the present moment, as beggars openly before the public. At Harvard, the rise of prices, together with the increasing burden of insufficient endowments, has gradually eaten up the general fund at the disposal of the college, and compelled it to raise its board and tuition rates simply to keep the institution from falling to pieces. And this has been accompanied with starving the professors, and stopping the purchase of books and classroom apparatus. At Yale, the state of things is quite as bad.—*March 18, 1869.*

MESSRS. ROBERTS BROTHERS announce . . . the " 'Bab' Ballads," which first appeared in *Fun;* they are by Mr. William S. Gilbert.—*March 18, 1869.*

THE NEW YORK *TIMES* has published this week a resume of the operations actual and prospective of the leading railroad operators in this state, showing that they are already, by an ingenious and audacious system of combination, almost, and soon will be completely, in possession of the government of the state; that they control the legislature, have apparently cowed the Attorney General, and have at least some of the judges in their possession.— *March 25, 1869.*

THE AVERAGE AMERICAN . . . admires the dexterity with which the conductor deals out damp paper currency from one side of his mouth and slimy nickels from the opposite, but, though that functionary swears at him more hoarsely than usual, he does not suspect him of having small-pox pustules in his throat.—*March 25, 1869.*

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Program of Action

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

[*The address which appears below was made at a dinner held on February 27 in New York on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Freda Kirchwey's association with* The Nation. *Other, and notable, speeches were delivered by the chairman, Raymond Swing, and by Thurman W. Arnold, Archibald MacLeish, Dorothy Thompson, Reinhold Niebuhr, and William Rosenblatt, and messages were received from the President, Secretary Morgenthau, President Benes of Czechoslovakia, President de Gaulle of the French Committee of National Liberation, and other distinguished friends of* The Nation. *The whole collection of addresses and messages will soon be brought together in a booklet which will be sent, with* The Nation's *compliments, to all regular subscribers, as well as to members of the Dinner Committee, the Committee of Sponsors, and the guests of honor.*]

TWENTY-FIVE years ago the young people Mr. Villard took into the staff of *The Nation* were immersed in the tumultuous backwash of another war. I must tell you that all of us in the winter of 1918-1919 were hopeful. We thought that somehow out of the mistakes and deceptions of the leaders, out of the confused claims and fierce animosities—out of all the destruction and sorrow—the peoples of the world would somehow pull a decent peace. We believed in the forces of resistance. We saw little good in the bargains of the statesmen; but we knew the people were sick of bargains and sicker still of spilling their blood to make them last. We watched the early gallant, successful struggles of the Russian Revolution and we saw signs in every rebellious rising, in every little people's republic, in every local soviet—from Belfast to Budapest—that the people would have the last word.

The process of democratic defeat has been one which our journal has followed and tried to take note of, blow by blow and week by week, for twenty-five years. You can read it in full and accurate detail in the bound volumes of *The Nation*—not at all a bad way of reliving a generation of political life. The only reason for recalling here the lost battles of 1919 and after is to throw light ahead, on the battles we face in 1944 and after.

It is said that President Roosevelt has studied with infinite care the last years of Woodrow Wilson's life in order to avoid if possible the errors of judgment and strategy that brought his great enterprise to defeat in the United States Senate and ended the hope of American participation in a system of collective security. Today we see our chief political leaders—not the President alone—tiptoeing toward the brink of a new world order, accepting the necessity of American participation but hesitating to commit us fully and in advance to any detailed program of shared power in the post-war world. No fourteen points this time, no awkward promises from which we may later have to make an undignified and not very honorable escape. Nothing this time but the rather ectoplasmic principles of the Atlantic Charter, susceptible, obviously, to a wide variety of strategic interpretations. I don't blame the leaders of today for their caution, for trying to sidestep the mistakes of last time. For "last time" was one of the great times of reckoning for our civilization. Invisible at the peace table, and in the Senate of the United States (perhaps in the press gallery) and in the councils of the other leading nations, sat Saint Peter. He wrote down in his book —printed on the best rag paper with indelible ink and treated with wax to prevent decay—one of the major failures of mankind.

That undimmed record is staring at us today. Not only in the stupid unrealities of the Versailles Treaty, not only in the bristling nationalisms that sprang from the noble principle of self-determination (like thistles from figs), but in the fatal decision of the leaders of all the nations—ours included—to prevent the overthrow of the power of the established ruling groups. This is the one pact which—though unwritten and unsigned—has been scrupulously observed by every government from 1919 till now. Even in the defeated countries, whose aggressive industrialist-militarist-imperialist rule had precipitated the war, even there, the victorious Allies showed themselves consistently partial to the heirs of the imperial power, consistently hostile to the emerging forces of popular revolt. The men who directed the remaking of the Western World after the last war remade it as nearly as possible in its pre-war political image. How quickly the fires of rebellion were smothered! How eagerly our leaders set the forces of reaction on their feet and fed them loans and made treaties and deals with them! They even encouraged our late enemy, Germany, to help wrest territory from our late ally, Russia—weakened by war and revolution. They launched attacks against Russia themselves, directly by expeditionary

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forces in the North and the Far East, and indirectly by giving (no nonsense about lend-lease) arms and funds to the Soviet Government's hostile neighbors and internal enemies.

Undoubtedly our statesmen wanted to restore and keep order, and to them order meant only one thing—the Old Order. And so they ruled out those social and economic changes that might have saved Europe from the despair that bred fascist counter-revolution. And as fascism began to assume power—under various names—in Hungary and Italy and Germany and other countries, they calmly accepted this disease of frustration as a bulwark of the safe Old Order. They didn't know that it represented the breakdown of that order in a revolution of the right—or if they did know, they welcomed and encouraged it as a preferred form of social upheaval. Better everything—terror, race hatred, economic warfare waged according to new gangster rules, the wiping out of independent states—better all this than the faintest risk of encouraging popular risings and the spread of socialism in Europe.

Don't remind me that during the last seven years of this inter-war struggle for power, the United States had a vigorous New Deal government—a popular government itself, anti-fascist by profession and largely anti-fascist in feeling. I know that. And I haven't forgotten that when our government was forced to take a position for or against fascist aggression—in the matter of sanctions against Italy, for example, or, most crucially, in the embargo of arms to Republican Spain—the Administration, in spite of its liberal intentions, followed exactly the same basic policy adopted by the governments of Britain and France. I haven't forgotten. And I believe it proves certain things that American progressives may as well face: It proves, first, that the power of conservative industrial and financial interests in this country has never been seriously threatened—even when Wall Street was most fiercely attacking the New Deal which had saved it from collapse in 1933. (The ferocity of the business attack on the Roosevelt Administration in the election campaign of 1936 was one of the important though little recognized factors determining American policy toward the Spanish fascist rebellion of that summer.) It proves, second, that other conservative forces, such as the Roman Catholic hierarchy, acting politically, have largely dominated the policy of the Administration even in its most progressive periods. And throughout our government apparatus, from top to bottom, there have remained in key posts—particularly in those posts that control foreign affairs and domestic economic affairs—tories who, without any pressure from right-wing pressure groups, simply react like the reactionaries they are on every issue that arises.

And this brings me to the moment at which we find ourselves tonight. It is well, as I said a while back, that the President and his advisers are thinking about the experience of his great predecessor, Woodrow Wilson. But it is to be hoped that it is not only his political missteps they are thinking of, but the whole chain of events that followed: the fatal compromises in Paris, the deals he was made party to, the sort of Europe that grew out of those deals, the forces that controlled the League of Nations and prevented it from performing the functions he planned for it. For the lesson of "last time" runs straight down the years, from the mistakes of Woodrow Wilson through the mistakes of Franklin D. Roosevelt. And unless this is recognized, we shall have no better peace than we had after 1918—which means that *we shall have no peace.*

What reason are we given to hope that "this time" will not be like "last time"? Have the leaders of the Allied nations grasped the idea that we are engaged in putting down the power, not only of Germany and its allies and satellites, but of fascist counter-revolution? Do the men in control realize that we cannot win this war by fighting on one side with planes and tanks and on the other with political weapons? Do our leaders understand, after all these years, that it is not only the fascist gangsters themselves who need to be extirpated, but the sleek, respectable elements, here and abroad, who put and kept them in power? And do they know that this job calls for a profound shift in the balance of economic and political control, here in America and in Britain as well as in the fascist countries themselves?

By Art Young in *The Nation*, May 16, 1928

The little nations squander their pennies at the airplane counter.

These questions, unhappily, almost answer

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themselves. Put very crudely—but accurately—power in our own government, as in Britain, is still largely in the hands of men who hate fascism less than they fear social change. The war has increased, not reduced, the influence of those whom the President—in the days before the ukase abolishing the New Deal—used to describe as Economic Royalists. The same forces which conspired to hold this country in line with the Britain of Baldwin and Chamberlain before the war are again trying to build, stone by stone, another Old Order. Today, as between 1919 and 1939, the basic fear of disorder, which means fear of popular rule, dominates our relations with the political elements boiling up out of the cauldron of war. We want to win; but if possible we want to win in alliance with the men and institutions which were responsible for the policies that inevitably produced the war. This is a difficult formula to follow—it may be a dangerous formula even in terms of the military strategy it is presumably designed to serve—but we have consistently stuck to it until the explosive force of events or of popular feeling has blown us out of our familiar ways. In Spain, in France, in Italy, in Yugoslavia, in Greece, we have seen the formula in operation. Mr. Churchill urges us not to fool with "ideological preferences" while we have a war to fight. The Prime Minister should have reversed his advice: he should have appealed to the forces of political change kindly to delay their appearance on the scene until the rulers of Britain and the United States decide their proper time has arrived.

We all know that the war has to be won no matter what comes after. Nobody is arguing with Mr. Churchill about that. The aggression of the Axis powers left the rest of the world no choice but to fight, no alternative to complete victory. But those who see the war chiefly in terms of military action are also those who see the peace chiefly in terms of a restoration of the kind of world—minus a militarized Axis—that preceded the war. The main improvement such people propose is the creation of a new international organization which, through structural improvements or a fresh set of by-laws, will somehow or other succeed where the League of Nations failed. I have read many plans for achieving collective security, and I see the value of thinking in advance about the shape of the world order to come. But no international organization is any better than the leading nations that comprise it. A return to the power structure of pre-war Europe—with its economic relationships unchanged, its colonial system intact, its former ruling groups in control—would mean only a new cycle of economic disintegration, dictatorship, and war, no matter what convenants of peace the nations may sign.

It is this that I hope the President and his advisers see as they review the past in laying their plans for the future. I hope they see that the suppression of disorder is not the primary job of the victorious Allies. I hope they see that the economic structure of Europe, smashed to pieces by fascist methods applied to the business of war, cannot be patched together again. News from the underground in every country indicates an overwhelming conviction on the part of the people that the old system must be replaced with some form or degree of collectivist control, under democratic sanctions. To try to prevent this process by repressing the popular forces behind it (as we have done in Italy) or by lending our immense support to the groups that oppose it (as we have done in Spain) is to align ourselves politically with our enemies. It is to repeat all the mistakes that led us into this deadliest of revolutionary wars. Only a New Deal for the world, more far-reaching and consistent than our own faltering New Deal, can prevent the coming of World War III.

The Nation is going to work for that New Deal for the world. We may be fooled, as we were fooled twenty-five years ago; we may be staking our hopes on emotions and shifts of power which will prove transitory. But the years have made us more adept, too, at gauging our chances. And in spite of all the power arrayed against a decent new world, we know that the power on our side is great.

The democratic forces of Europe and Asia are fully awake to the needs and dangers of this time. The courage and unity and will to fight among the victims of fascist terror in every country are a blazing example to us in this relatively sheltered and isolated land. The people of the occupied countries, in particular, are fighting with a fury we have not learned, for values we do not yet recognize. They are already shaping their own future. Attempts to head them off have not been successful. Does anyone think the old gang will hold power in Spain or in Italy a day after our support is pulled out from under? Franco is our creature—ours and Hitler's; he is not Spain's. Badoglio and the King of Italy belong to us alone. As for France, no amount of Allied pressure was able to check the rise of De Gaulle. And it was not political maneuvering that placed him in his present position of pre-eminence; no one can accuse him of subtle or ingratiating methods! It was the inexorable and united demand of the French people—both in France and in the colonies—that thrust De Gaulle forward and then, quite as inexorably, through the Consultative Assembly, have been making him the instrument of the will of France. The popular revolution in Yugoslavia, so strong and successful that it has drawn Allied support away from the reactionary government-in-exile, will serve as a persuasive example throughout the Balkans.

And Russia. . . . With due regard to the firm and imperturbable self-interest that dominates the foreign policy of the Soviet Government, it must be said that the mighty weight of Russian influence has been thrown on the side

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of the democratic forces in Europe. Russia may be building its own sphere of influence, but it is not building it out of nations ruled by fascists and the underlings of fascists. Its own security demands neighbors who prefer peace to conquest. Today, unlike twenty-five years ago, the Soviet Union can if necessary establish its own *cordon sanitaire* against reactionary nations that threaten it. Perhaps it will do so in any case, just to be on the safe side. Perhaps it will do so only if its Allies continue to build up, and prop up, by diplomatic and military means and the support of the Catholic Church, the decrepit relicts of fascism. I, for one, shall feel that much has been lost if a new balance of power—East against West—is created in Europe. But it seems to me the most probable alternative to a decent system of collective security based firmly on a democratic Europe. Russia is not going to encourage the reestablishment of the Europe of 1939 and, with all the dangers inherent in any form of power politics, one must count this as gain.

By Georges Schreiber, *The Nation*, May 17, 1933
The Burning of the Books

The final source of strength we can draw upon in our fight for a New Deal for the world is here at home. Everywhere one finds a growing awareness of the imminent threat of reactionary control in America. The forces that resist social change have gained much territory and dug themselves in strongly during the war. But in a democracy such tendencies set in motion counter-currents. And today, with the Presidential campaign just opening, we see the lines being drawn more sharply than before. We are in for a fight. Men who have shilly-shallied will have to choose sides. Some will turn up in positions that will surprise us. Perhaps the President himself will surprise us.

The Nation is convinced that the campaign of the coming summer and fall will lay the lines of America's course for the rest of the war and for the whole reconstruction period. We believe that we, like every other organized progressive force in this country, must fight all the way from now until November to back the principles and support the candidates that offer the best hope of a democratic future for America and the world. We must find our allies; we must overlook our smaller differences; and we must move. The discouraging fact we must face is that reaction is both well heeled and well organized, tough and unscrupulous, confident of victory. By comparison we are poor—and divided. But in spite of the odds against us we cannot afford to mull along, waiting for the political consciousness of the masses to develop normally and gradually over a period of years. We must fight now, and build our militia while we fight. The most encouraging fact is that we have numbers on our side—if we can reach them.

It is encouraging, too, that the progressive labor groups are already getting organized for aggressive action. The C. I. O. Political Action Committee is a nation-wide move to overcome the traditional political inertia of American labor and provide that orientation and sense of political reality which the movement so greatly needs. Smaller organizations, such as the Union for Democratic Action, are as deep in the struggle as their means permit. And all over the country committees to carry out local actions have suddenly sprung into being.

The Nation intends both to fight and cover this campaign at the top of its ability. We want to keep track, through first-hand reporting all over the country, of the movement of progressive forces. We shall do what we can to make our pages a focus of information and direction. We shall print criticisms and analyses by the best available political writers. We shall tell the truth about candidates. We shall report as fully the campaign on the right and pay particular attention to the key states and districts. We shall proceed in the firm belief that no matter who is nominated or elected President, his capacity to act as the leader this country and the world most desperately require will depend upon the political elements that come to power with him. Neither a Roosevelt nor a Willkie will be able to steer this country toward a responsible foreign policy if he is opposed by the strongest elements in his own party; and at this critical hour, the strongest elements in both parties are their most reactionary elements.

To break the hold in each party of its Dieses, its

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Hoffmans, its Cotton Ed Smiths, its Ham Fishes, must be the first practical political aim of the progressives in this campaign. To rally around a concrete, clearly-put democratic program both in foreign and domestic affairs must be their second and more permanent aim.

Now a program can be as intricate as the usual political party platform or as brief as the President's Four Freedoms. But its value depends upon its ability to turn principles into specifications. *The Nation's* program of action is at least specific. It grows naturally out of the events we chronicle and the issues we discuss in each number. It is founded in a firm conviction that the very existence of our civilization depends upon the development—not yet achieved—of a close and confident political understanding among the great Allied powers both in fighting the war and in planning the peace; and upon the creation of a permanent international organization, in whatever shape, composed of nations whose governments have been stripped of fascist, pro-fascist, or collaborationist elements. In practice this means that the Allied governments should mutually carry out such immediate policies as these:

1. In Italy they should withdraw support from the King and General Badoglio and permit the free parties to establish a provisional republican government.
2. They should recognize the French Committee of National Liberation as the provisional government of France, with full right to rid the army and the civil administration of fascists and other traitors, and to act in every way as an independent governing body.
3. They should forthwith break off relations with fascist Spain and do everything in their power to favor the reestablishment of the Republic, which alone can bring Spain into the Allied coalition.
4. They should support the free people's movements in every occupied country, abandoning the pretense of "non-intervention," which, in practice, has always meant effective intervention in behalf of reaction.
5. They should open their doors to every refugee able to escape from Europe and, by so doing, establish a moral right to insist that Britain permit the immigration into Palestine of all Jews who can still be saved from the extermination policy of the Nazi terrorists; they should use their united influence to bring about the abrogation of the White Paper and give their united support to the development of the Jewish national homeland in Palestine.
6. In Latin America they should give all possible aid to movements aiming at the establishment of democratic rule in those countries now subject to dictatorship. The United States, in particular, should do its best to strengthen and create a closer relationship between the nations possessing free governments, in order to reduce the danger of fascist control of the continent.

In domestic affairs, *The Nation* will continue to fight—and help unite other progressive groups in the fight—for the fullest possible use of our great productive machine (doubled in capacity during the war) after the war is won. The only hope of an orderly economic future for our country and the world lies in greater and greater production and a constant increase in the exchange of goods. With this in mind we shall oppose every policy that tends to limit production. In particular, we shall attack private monopolies of all sorts both in national and international trade.

We welcome the promises of American business to assume full responsibility for maintaining maximum production and employment. But we do not believe this aim can be achieved without the active intervention of the government. Only the government can plan and coordinate economic activities on a national and international scale. It is our belief that there will have to be more, not less, government intervention in business after the war. The government will have to act as umpire, policeman, promoter, social welfare agent, and wherever necessary as producer and distributor too. Against the background of this general position, we favor:

1. Immediate government planning for expanded production and full employment after the war through improved fiscal policies and broad programs of public works; large-scale housing; regional developments such as the various public power projects; encouragement of small business and cooperative enterprises; encouragement of farm projects, collective and individual; government operation of such publicly-owned plant facilities as would otherwise be taken out of production.
2. Prompt passage of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill to extend the benefits of social security to many groups formerly excluded and guarantee adequate medical care for everyone.
3. Full representation, in all government departments and agencies, of labor and other progressive elements in the community.
4. The abolition of such obviously fascist devices as the Dies, Kerr, and Smith committees.
5. The wiping out of every form of legal discrimination, political or economic, against any racial or religious group, and the initiation of a deliberate program of education throughout the United States designed to overcome prejudice and the social discriminations that arise from prejudice.

These demands form only a working model of a platform. But they offer an area on which progressives of various political groups can stand and fight together. If we agree on these few points, we can probably agree on the many that naturally grow out of them.

* * *

My friends, this analysis, these plans, this scattered collection of "points" can really be summed up in a simple plea. Ordinary people everywhere are sick to death of the scramble for power of privileged groups; they are sick of intrigue, of divisions among men; they are sick of the cruelty which has made the world a

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place of horror and ignominy. What they want—all they want—are the opposites of these products of fascism and war. They want a breath of human warmth in a world grown cold with hate; they want freedom to work and talk and enjoy the decencies of life; to educate their children. They are willing to die—they *are* dying, in millions—so that other men may have these things. But if they die only to keep alive a world in which the hope of freedom again withers and hatred and war come to flower, then the payment for that deception will be even heavier than the awful payment exacted today for the deceptions of last time. It is our task—our only important task on this earth—to help create a world fit, not for heroes, but for ordinary men and women.

Outflanking the Japanese

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

THE speedy capture by the navy of Kwajalein and Eniwetok atolls in the Marshalls provides a complete vindication of those military critics who have contended that the Central Pacific rather than the Southwest Pacific route offers the most desirable highway to Tokyo. Actual experience has shown island hopping here to be easier, cheaper, and far faster than the kind of war in which General MacArthur, after two years of skilled fighting, has yet to clean up half of New Guinea.

The performance of Americans in the Marshalls invasion can only be termed excellent. Fine scouting and intelligence work gave a detailed knowledge of terrain and enemy strength. A thorough aerial softening of surrounding islands by both army and navy planes eliminated the chance of interference by air. As in the Gilberts, the very size of the invading fleet, precluded the enemy accepting a challenge to a fleet engagement. Landing tactics were better than at Tarawa and go far toward explaining the ridiculously low casualties. Finally, the tactics of by-passing, already practiced in the Aleutians and Solomons, left several Japanese bases to the east heavily fortified but largely helpless, to be dealt with at our leisure. Thus Japan, for the first time in her modern history has lost territory she had long controlled.

Not only the campaign in the Marshalls, but the recent raids are of the utmost importance. That portion of the United States Navy now in the Pacific is so strong that simultaneous offensives deep in enemy waters can be conducted practically without loss. They have shown that the land-based Japanese plane holds far fewer terrors than previously while our own air force is fully able to defeat any attempts the enemy may care to make toward relieving such important bases as Rabaul by convoys. We have a big job of mopping up ahead of us, but on the basis of recent events it seems unlikely that any of the Marshalls, Wake Island, Nauru, New Guinea, New Britain, or New Ireland can be held while the Carolines including Truk will also fall, probably sooner than expected and without a major test of naval strength. The Japanese navy now seems to be confined mainly to home waters.

The refusal of the Japanese navy to accept any of several recent invitations to battle is significant from several angles. The Pacific enemy has long been characterized by a kind of bulldog aggressiveness. Yet on all recent occasions when a collision might have occurred the American control of the air was such as to make acceptance of our challenge plainly suicidal. Nor is this the only factor involved. In the Pacific we have long been engaged in a process at sea analogous to the Russian "blitzgrinding" on land and have taken an immensely high toll of enemy vessels. Numbers of mistakes have been made in identifying the class of ships sunk, and the Army Air Corps has often been far too optimistic in its claims, as in the well known case of the Haruna. But the navy has leaned toward conservatism, and in several instances its reports of enemy ships destroyed have been too modest. The naval superiority with which the Japanese started the war has, therefore, disappeared without the slightest likelihood of returning. In fact, because of the phenomenal output of American yards our navy, even now markedly stronger than the Japanese, will shortly be overwhelming. Still later, the addition of our Atlantic fleet and the British navy will give the United Nations a margin of anywhere between three and five to one and will spell Japan's doom as surely as Germany's is now being sealed on land. From this time on the tactics of the United States in the Pacific can become bolder and more aggressive because we can now afford to take risks which would have been extremely foolish two years ago. The "play it safe close to the chest" methods of Admiral King should give way increasingly to the fighting offensive which is the heritage of the American navy.

With this bold leap forward to the Admiralty Islands General MacArthur has outflanked the remaining Japanese bases in the Southwest Pacific and trapped upwards of 50,000 enemy troops in New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago. This successful move is the fruit both of the air and sea offensive which has almost paralyzed Rabaul and of the Central Pacific campaign. If the Japanese were still able to use Truk as a base, such a long

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stride to the north would hardly have been feasible. In both Pacific theaters there may now be a pause before further advances are undertaken for our newly won positions must be consolidated and the more important enemy strongholds, which have been by-passed, must be captured and converted to our use. In the Central Pacific, Ponape and Kusaie in the eastern Carolines are the most important positions still to be taken. Truk, no longer the bugaboo of a year ago, may be regarded as the first main objective of both our current drives.

From the Carolines we can branch out in either or both of two directions. The Marianas and Bonin Islands to the north lead directly to Japan itself, but the air bases available are not numerous and are hardly sufficient to support a real bombing offensive against the mainland. These islands are worth taking for their nuisance value to the enemy, but air raids from the Bonins will hardly bring Japan to terms.

Secondly, we can continue our island hopping directly to the west with the reconquest of the Philippines the main object. In anticipation of this the Japanese are now fortifying Halmahera, one of the essential stepping stones along the southern line of approach. Unless the enemy should decide to preserve his fleet for the defense of Japan itself this move would probably bring a test with the Japanese navy, for American sea and air power in the Philippine Islands would have the effect of cutting communications to the south with the Indies which could then be mopped up later.

Even the retaking of the Philippines is not likely to end the Pacific war. We may be obliged to gain Chinese bases by a sea offensive from the east rather than a long drawn out land offensive from the west. These will then have to be developed and used in a prolonged aerial bombardment of Japan proper as a preliminary to invasion. There are, to be sure, alternatives. One is a direct invasion attempt under cover of our immensely strong carrier aviation. Another is converging attacks from the Kuriles and Formosa. It is difficult to see how the Japanese navy can hope to block our island hopping at any time in the near future—always provided we continue to secure absolute air superiority before each forward step. Without command of the air enemy naval intervention is very unlikely to be successful as the Japanese have discovered to their cost. It is far more likely that the Japanese, if they elect to fight a decisive naval battle, will do so in waters close to their mainland where the United Nations, operating from fewer and more distant air bases, will be at the greatest possible disadvantage.

Because of the effect on American life, it is also worth noting what portion of our war machine will remain after Hitler is defeated. Practically all of the vast merchant marine can be used to speed up conquest. This will not require the same number of destroyer escorts and other convoy protection types as have been needed in the Atlantic as the Japanese submarine threat is incomparably less. Otherwise, nearly all of our navy can be actively employed in the Pacific. The better part of the Army Air Force, especially the bombardment forces, can be used provided we can find sufficient bases from which to operate. The Marine Corps and army units specially trained in amphibious operations will also be needed. However, short of the actual invasion of Japan no particularly large forces of troops will be required in overcoming island garrisons. Nor does Japan itself have an army which would be called large by European standards. Keeping in mind forthcoming British aid it is very doubtful if we could profitably use as many as two million troops in the Pacific area. We could reasonably expect, then, a demobilization of 30 to 40 per cent of the men in our armed services after the defeat of Germany.

Developments in Russia have been fully as important to the outcome of the European war as the breaking of Japan's first real defense lines are in the Pacific. Three Russian offensives, under way at the moment, hold enormous possibilities.

Easily first of the area is southern Russia. Here the Germans are paying the penalty for attempting to hold territory when developments elsewhere had made such action strategically unsound. For fully five months while the battle lines west of Kiev surged further and further west and finally crossed the Polish border, the Germans held desperately to the southern Ukraine with their bridgehead on the lower Dnieper. As the Red Army drives lengthened, the southern German front became longer and more vulnerable to attack. Also German westward communications were increasingly threatened. The reasons for the *Wehrmacht's* attempts to hold this territory are not entirely clear but probably center around the fact that the metallurgical resources about Nikopol and Krivoi Rog had become of vital importance to Hitler's war machine.

It is still too early to estimate the full extent of Nazi defeat in southern Russia. The loss of nearly all of the Eighth Army comes at a time when Germany is critically short of troops. The mauling of other divisions about Nikopol will also affect the manpower balance in that area. However, the first spring rains have been cutting down the mobility of both armies, and the Red Army in the good fighting weather remaining may find it difficult to turn the defeat of the enemy into disaster.

The best opportunity of doing this lies farther north, where General Vatutin's armies have been making the most progress. Should the Russians be able to cut the Odessa-Zhmerinka-Lwow railway or better yet take Lwow itself, Mannstein's southern German armies, able to retreat only into Rumania and facing grave supply difficulties, will find themselves in a critical situation. Even if they escape encirclement their necessary retreat into

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the Balkans should place them outside the main arena of the war.

In the far north the twin drives west of Novgorod and southwest from Leningrad along the Gulf of Finland represent almost the only important activity in that area since 1942. While they are less threatening than offensives further south, the Germans cannot afford to take them lightly. To date they have (1) completely raised the two-year siege of Leningrad (2) compelled a retreat into Estonia of the northernmost German armies and flanked those immediately to the south (3) provided a little more mobility to the Russian Baltic Fleet with the clearing of part of the southern shores of the Gulf of Finland and (4) served the plainest kind of warning to Finland to get out of the war on the basis of harsh terms now or unbearable terms later. As the Russians extend their hold on the Gulf of Finland, they should shortly be in a position to interrupt the German iron-ore trade with Sweden from both sea and air, adding one more to the numerous harassments besetting the Reich.

From the strategic angle the German position in Russia is now chaotic. The front is irregular and unnecessarily long. The deep salients pushed by the Red Army have cut north-south rail communications and complicated the problem of supply. Only rarely do the present German lines rest on rivers, railroads, or any other natural supports. Yet, with the Russians in Poland only a little over 200 miles from East Prussia, the day has passed when the Germans dare conduct "strategic retreats" and attempt to find stable lines to the west. Inferior in numbers, desperately short of reserves, the *Wehrmacht* can only hold each bit of ground as long as possible before retreating.

While the Russian and Pacific fronts have shown the greatest activity for the month past, other developments have been significant. The strategically vital Battle of the Atlantic having been won, shipping becomes safer week by week as submarine sinkings rise and ship losses decline. January and February were extremely good months for the air war. The Italian campaign, on the other hand, gives less reason for satisfaction. The landing of six divisions south of Rome should have resulted in far greater gains, especially in view of the German unpreparedness to meet such a move. Either the capture of Rome or an attack on the rear of Kesselring's armies could normally have been expected. Instead the newly landed troops, after having secured their bridgehead, appear to have made no offensive moves. While more facts should be awaited before any final judgment is made, either bad leadership or extremely conservative and unimaginative tactics is suggested by our failure to exploit a strong position combined with the element of surprise. We must do far better if we are to win in western Europe with both speed and low casualties.

In the Wind

FROM HONOLULU comes word that the Chinese of Hawaii, in a special "gratitude drive," have bought more than a million dollars' worth of war bonds "to give concrete evidence of their thanks to America" for the repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws.

LOUIS BROMFIELD was scheduled to present a plaque, on behalf of the National Victory Garden Institute, to Delano Lodge of the United Steelworkers of America, the much-publicized "model union" of the Empire Sheet and Tin Plate Company, Mansfield, Ohio. The union refused to accept the plaque from his hands because of his attacks on organized labor. Other arrangements were hastily made.

SCOOP: An anti-Semitic joke that has been in circulation since the first days of the war has just appeared in the Grants Pass, Oregon, *Bulletin.*

THE PROVOST-MARSHAL'S OFFICE has authorized commandants of army posts at which Italian prisoners of war are held to parole such prisoners at their own discretion. Thus far there is no record that any such parole has been granted, since the commandant issuing the parole would be held responsible if the prisoner should fail to return.

IN CASE Governor Dewey of New York should be nominated for the Presidency, the Union for Democratic Action has devised a campaign slogan for him: "Dewey or Don't He?" James Loeb, Jr., executive secretary of the U. D. A., admits the grammar is unorthodox but says it's good enough for the Republicans.

FESTUNG EUROPA: In Norway a nationwide campaign for enlistments in the German navy produced fifteen recruits. . . . A concentration camp near Bergen is being enlarged. . . . Incidentally, the new Nazi slogan for Norway is "Toward Better Times." The underground press generally has made the slogan its own.

[*The $5 prize for the best item received during February goes to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born for its story of the omission of Czechoslovakia from an American map. It was published February 19.*]

MEETING

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French Democracy Gets to Work

BY JULES MOCH

Algiers, February 15

MY WORK in the French resistance movement has made it necessary for me to undertake several missions quite far from Algiers in recent weeks; for that reason I have been unable to send regular dispatches to *The Nation.*

During a short stay between trips in the provisional capital of France, I found a chance to go through the American newspapers and also to study at first-hand the activities of the young Consultative Assembly.

It seems to me that important sections of American opinion are finding it difficult to follow the evolution of French politics. That is not surprising: how many Frenchmen are familiar with current developments on the American political scene?

Whether the French are acquainted with the problems of the United States, however, can have little influence on the course of events: the France of 1944 will have no role to play in drawing up peace plans for the Western Hemisphere. America, on the other hand, because of its military and economic strength, its present guaranties and post-war promises, its provisional administration of territories occupied by its armies, and the prestige which naturally flows from these actions, will have a tremendous role to play in the demobilization of the Old World.

For this reason influential Americans, particularly government officials and newspapermen, should have a clear picture of the nations which the United States is helping to liberate. The accomplishments of the first two sessions of the Consultative Assembly are therefore of paramount importance to those who want to understand the position of France today.

In the field of governmental procedure great progress has been made. In accordance with the republican tradition of both France and America, the military authority has been placed under civilian direction. Two civilians, one a left parliamentarian, the other a moderate, now direct the War and Aviation Department and the Navy Department.

Moreover the government was reorganized last November in order to reflect more adequately the political composition of the Consultative Assembly and of France itself. It now includes seventeen members, of whom five are parliamentarians; two Socialists, Mm. Philip and Le Troquer; two Radicals, Mm. Queuille and Mendès-France; and one moderate, M. Jacquinot. Of the remaining twelve members, four represent the principal resistance movements (Mm. d'Astier de la Vigerie, Fresnay, de Menthon, and Capitant); three supported General de Gaulle from the beginning (General Catroux, Mm. Diethelm and Tixier); two were designated by General Giraud (Mm. Monnet and Mayer); one, M. Bonnet, although a follower of General de Gaulle, was accepted by General Giraud as Commissioner of Information when unity was achieved; one is a diplomat who fled to London in 1943, M. Massigli; the final member is General de Gaulle, President of this provisional government of the Republic.

To recapitulate in other terms, its seventeen members include four Socialists, seven civilian republicans who have clearly defined their political position and who may be classified as Radicals, one Left Catholic, and one moderate republican of Reynaud tendency. Only four of the ministers, two of them generals, have no past record of active participation in French political life. How then can American journalists speak of authoritarian or personal or fascist tendencies in a council, two-thirds of whose members were active in the Popular Front, France's "New Deal" government?

One section of the French resistance movement is not represented in the government. But it is no fault of General de Gaulle's that the Communists rejected the offer made to them. If, as is probable, one or two of their representatives finally accept ministerial posts, the provisional government will then reflect exactly the whole resistance movement.

The Assembly has zealously considered the situation in France, ways of aiding the underground, French foreign policy, colonial policy, and the military and naval strategy of France. In lengthy debates, always a delicate matter in public session in time of war, the Assembly, despite its newness and the inexperience of many of its members, has acquitted itself with honor. Every debate has ended with a unanimous vote of confidence for the government. I myself can attest to the fact that the votes of confidence are no mere lip service; they show the real working unity of the parliamentarians, the delegates of the resistance, and those of the overseas territories behind the provisional government.

On two points—and only two—does the position of a

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part of the Assembly differ somewhat from that of the government. On the question of purging or punishing traitors, collaborators, and former Vichy ministers, the Assembly favors more drastic action, more summary procedure, and more exemplary punishment. Concerning the administration of France during the period between its liberation and the election of a Constituent Assembly, the delegates are still groping their way toward a solution. The problem is not simple. A ministerial proposal has been rejected by the commission studying the question, and the commission's proposal has been rejected by the Assembly. A new proposal will be submitted to the Assembly in March.

Skeptical readers may suggest that the Assembly is neither consultative nor representative. Let us examine this view.

In theory, the Assembly is only a consultative body. The decrees calling it into existence show that clearly. But that is only theory. From the start the Assembly, with the consent of the government, has gone beyond this narrow concept, acting in the belief that authority is not granted but must be taken.

The authority of the Assembly and the aid which it gives the government are such that it would be impossible for an important bill to become law without having first been examined and approved by the Assembly. The government itself established this precedent when it submitted to the Assembly its proposal for the organization of public power during the liberation period with the request that the Assembly study the post-war reconstruction of French economic life and possible structural reforms together with all the "suggested" modifications in the 1944 budget.

At present the Assembly is something completely different from a simple consultative body. It offers suggestions, but it legislates as well. In effect, a new parliamentary form has been born in Algiers.

One cannot argue, either, that the Assembly is not representative of occupied France. Forty-five of its hundred members left France in October and November 1943, delegated by the resistance organizations and political parties to represent them. They all describe France as 95 per cent, or more, behind the Allied cause. These millions of Frenchmen, hundreds of thousands of them active in the underground, organized and armed, rest their hope of liberation in the Allies and the government in Algiers. Even the Vichy propagandists no longer dispute the fact that the "Gaullists" or "terrorists," that is to say the patriots of France, are united in the struggle for liberty and the restoration of the Republic.

Make no mistake—the French resistance and the delegates who represent it in Algiers are ardent republicans. If studies made by the Committees of Resistance in France are not sufficient proof, we have only to look at the motion on nationalization, presented to the Assembly by the Socialist delegates, which immediately obtained signatures from forty members or more than half of those present.

France counts on the DeGaulle government to liberate its land, restore its honor, and allow it freely to decide its future. No question of personal power is involved. The commitments of De Gaulle in that regard are clear and explicit.

This is what America should know about France. France is ready for the heaviest sacrifices to regain its liberty. It is deeply hurt by the reticent and limited recognition accorded its government by the Allies. France will redouble its effort in the hope that the Allies will soon better understand its suffering, its aspirations, and its whole-hearted support of President de Gaulle.

Ten Points for Peace

AMONG all the competing plans for a future world organization one of the simplest and most sensible is that recently put forward by Samuel S. Fels in the New York *Times* Sunday magazine. Mr. Fels proposes that the United Nations themselves should form the "nucleus for an international union of all governments in the interest of peace and good-will." The thirty-three states voluntarily linked for the prosecution of the war constitute a majority of the nations of the world in numbers, force, and influence. They have developed the machinery of cooperation; they have even initiated, in the field of relief and rehabilitation, common programs of action for the post-war period.

Mr. Fels recognizes clearly that the old idea of sovereignty must be fundamentally modified if the United Nations is to develop as an effective society of nations. But this would be true under any plan. The most complete and ingenious international governmental structure that could be devised would prove worthless unless each member nation were willing to contribute to it some share of its sovereignty.

We print below the ten points of Mr. Fels's proposal with the suggestion to readers that they send us their criticisms or other comments:

1. Charge the United Nations with the obligation to prevent wars and vest in them the power whenever and wherever necessary to use force to accomplish this end.

2. Require that weapons and materials of war remaining in the hands of the Axis powers shall be cut up and sold for scrap, and the proceeds used to supply much-needed food to the people of the countries concerned. (A preference for butter over cannon is thus indicated.)

3. Provide that instruments of war remaining in the hands of members of the United Nations after the war is over may be retained by them wholly or in part for

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requirements within their own borders; but that the primary purpose of those weapons, and their sole use outside the borders of their owners, shall be to carry out duties laid down for the United Nations in the peace.

4. Charge the United Nations with the duty and power to prohibit any further manufacture of weapons or munitions of war by any country or by private enterprise. Should, however, conditions arise later where limited amounts are required to carry out the purposes of the peace treaty, the manufacture of these shall be controlled by the United Nations only.

5. Charge the United Nations with establishing a central headquarters through which constant and diligent search shall be carried out in all parts of the world for dangerous evidence of preparations for war and situations that might lead to it. This would call for a corps of able, energetic, trained men to keep in touch with conditions by personal visits to countries where trouble is likely to occur. This corps of men to be given by the peace treaty all the rights needed by them to fulfil their instructions, including the right of search for hidden munitions factories.

6. Charge the United Nations with maintaining a similar corps to audit conditions in any mandated or colonial territories, with additional power to require reports, hold hearings, and hear native testimony.

7. Provide that the police powers of the various countries shall be put at the service of the United Nations when called upon. This will have the great advantage of connecting world efforts to prevent war with local efforts to prevent disorder.

8. Project the work of the United Nations on a basis of entire frankness with the people—their constituents—publishing to the world open, concise, and regular reports in every tongue.

9. Provide, through some equable and compulsory system, adequate revenue to maintain these and other services of the United Nations.

10. Count on the advantages accruing to the countries participating in the United Nations to lead neutral and, after due probation, enemy countries to join them.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

HENRICH HIMMLER has issued a new decree creating what can be called a "total police force." On February 23 he announced that from now on "every male German irrespective of age, being capable and worthy of bearing arms, must serve in the auxiliary police." Obviously this is a *ne plus ultra.* No country can have more police than inhabitants.

The auxiliary police in Germany consists of two formations—the Rural Guard and the Town Guard. The first was founded two years ago; the second, somewhat later. Both serve as reservoirs of man-power on which the regular police can draw in an emergency. Members continue their regular occupations, but "during their leisure hours undergo training in the essentials of police theory and use of arms." As soon as they have received this rudimentary instruction they are assigned to police work for a few hours a few times a week, at night or in their free time. Previously the service was voluntary and on a limited scale. Now it is compulsory and universal.

The decree divides all men still in the country into three groups. In the first are those who are not employed full time in a war job; the police can call on them at any time. Then come those who have full-time war jobs, for example, in an armament factory; they can be called to police duty only in their free time. The third group consists of men who in addition to their full-time war job do work for the party or some war organization; they are to be used only in cases of "utmost necessity."

Each police station can commandeer as many men as it needs. Among the duties of this auxiliary force the Himmler decree mentions "the barring off of certain districts, searching houses, searching persons in the streets arresting suspects." "These tasks," it says, "demand a high degree of responsibility when Germans are involved and ruthless action when foreigners and prisoners of war are to be dealt with." The police auxiliaries "must feel that they share responsibilitiy for the security of their district, which of course they know better than others." As a reward for service they receive decorations and commendations—and money. For bringing back an escaped war prisoner, for example, an auxiliary policeman is paid a hundred marks, "not subject to income tax."

"All German men must be available in case of utter need," says the Himmler decree. The question is, what sort of utter need is meant? The official text says only that it is necessary to fill out the ranks of the regular police because "its active members and reserves have been sent in increasing numbers to the front or into the occupied countries." That is undoubtedly a too ingenuous explanation: millions are not needed to replace a few ten thousands. On the other hand, to say that Himmler is preparing new police forces for the event of a revolution is too dramatic: no one thinking of forestalling a revolution would arm and train all men. The real reason seems to be the twelve to fifteen million war prisoners and foreign workers now scattered in hundreds of thousands of places of employment throughout the Reich, in towns and in the country. It is becoming more and more clear that these represent a gigantic enemy army which could be a great danger in a critical situation. Hence the necessity of forming an auxiliary police which can claim to be the largest police organization of all times and countries.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

A Carriage from Sweden

They say there is a sweeter air
where it was made, than we have here;
a Hamlet's castle atmosphere.
At all events there is in Brooklyn
something that makes me feel at home.

No one may see this put-away
museum-piece, this country cart
that inner happiness made art;
and yet, in this city of freckled
integrity it is a vein

of resined straightness from north-wind
hardened Sweden's once-opposed-to-
compromise archipelago
of rocks. Washington and Gustavus
Adolphus, forgive our decay.

Seats, dashboard and sides of smooth gourd-
rind texture, a flowered step, swan-
dart brake, and swirling crustacean-
tailed equine amphibious creatures
that garnish the axle-tree! What

a fine thing! What unannoying
romance! And how beautiful, she
with the natural stoop of the
snowy egret, gray-eyed and straight-haired,
for whom it should come to the door,—

of whom it reminds me. The split
pine fair hair, steady gannet-clear
eyes and the pine-needled-path deer-
swift step; that is Sweden—land of the
free and the soil for a spruce-tree—

vertical though a seedling—all
needles: from a green trunk, green shelf
on shelf fanning out by itself.
The deft white-stockinged dance in thick-soled
shoes! Denmark's sanctuaried Jews!

The puzzle-jugs and hand-spun rugs,
the root-legged kracken shaped like dogs,
the hanging buttons and the frogs
that edge the Sunday jackets! Sweden,
you have a runner called the Deer, who

when he's won a race, likes to run
more; you have the sun-bright gable-
ends due east and west, the table
spread as for a banquet; and the put-
in twin vest-pleats with a fish-fin

effect when you need none. Sweden,
what makes the people dress that way
and those who see you wish to stay?
The runner, not too tired to run more
at the end of the race? And that

cart, dolphin-graceful? A Dalgrén
lighthouse, self-lit? responsive and
responsible. I understand;
it's not pine-needle-paths that give spring
when they're run on, it's a Sweden

of moated white castles,—the bed
of flowers densely grown in an S
meaning Sweden and stalwartness,
skill, and a surface that says
Made in Sweden; carts are my trade.

MARIANNE MOORE

The DAE

A DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN ENGLISH ON HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES. Edited by Sir William A. Craigie and James R. Hulbert. Four Volumes. University of Chicago Press. $100.

THE editors of the "Dictionary of American English," free at last to raise their eyes above endless quotation slips and proof sheets, must feel a decent, sober surprise at the acclaim given to the conclusion of their long, harmless, unpublicized drudgery. They and all who have collaborated with them in any way have reason to take pride in the completion of a great work of cooperative scholarship, and the University of Chicago Press has earned fully the Carey-Thomas award for creative publishing. I, for one, would like to add to the honor roll the unnamed book designer responsible for the format of the DAE—to give it the abbreviation by which it is already known—and the compositor or compositors who set the type on an intricate, exacting assignment. The DAE deserves the applause that it is now receiving; yet when work on it began at Chicago in 1925, almost the only aspect of the enterprise deemed newsworthy was the notion, intimated by the papers, that the senior editor was a foreign fuddy-duddy ill equipped to deal competently with the complexities of the American vocabulary.

Since echoes of that canard are still audible, it is worth recalling that Mr. Craigie was, as he happily still is, the most experienced of living English lexicographers, that he was the first person to urge the necessity and to formulate the plan of such a dictionary, and that he brought to the new task an incomparable knowledge of dictionary-making.

The first fascicle of the DAE I reviewed in *The Nation* in 1936 with the ebullient enthusiasm of a confirmed dictionary-reader. Almost a year later, on the publication of the second fascicle, I reiterated the praise but I also expressed some regret at certain features of the dictionary—the omission, except in special cases, of any indication of pronunciation and etymology, and the too rigorous exclusion of encyclopedic matter. I might have demurred, also, at the

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refusal to include any words that had not been "booked" by the year 1901. Surveying now the complete work, and recalling many hours of browsing in it as it was issued part by part, I can repeat the praise without reservation and have learned to tolerate comfortably its few sins of omission.

Yet it is not an easy work to use. The plan of the DAE is quite different from that of any other dictionary in the English language, and the reader who consults it uninformed of its special character may readily be baffled or disappointed. It is not, as its title seems to indicate, a dictionary of the English language in America. Such a dictionary would be bulky, expensive, and not especially useful, for it would to a great extent be a duplication of existing works, and what was novel in it would be pretty well lost under masses of familiar material. Nor is the DAE a glossary of Americanisms. It lacks, too, all those features that make the ordinary American dictionary a hybrid of lexicon and encyclopedia, amazingly versatile as a household reference book, but often considerably short of perfection as a guide to the ways in which words are actually used.

These, however, are not the only or the most radical departures from ordinary lexicographical method. All orthodox dictionaries comprehend, with greater or less attention to detail, the central vocabulary of the language and extend thence in various directions according to their scope. This inclusiveness gives a dictionary a certain familiar coherence; the word sought is almost sure to be there, and the particular usage indicated with more or less precision.

This familiar coherence is not to be found in the DAE. It is not so much an independent work as a gigantic supplement to other dictionaries, especially to its parent work, the "Oxford English Dictionary." Its choice of words and exhibition of significances are selective, the purpose being to register with great fulness the distinctive features of American English and to ignore so far as possible those other features that do not differentiate it from the English spoken elsewhere. Accordingly, the vocabulary of the DAE includes only "words and phrases which are clearly or apparently of American origin, or have greater currency here than elsewhere, but also every word denoting something which has a real connection with the development of the country and the history of the people." This rule, however, is construed to cover words that have acquired new applications in the United States. Some of these applications are so subtle that they hardly lend themselves to direct explanation or definition but have to be suggested by abundant quotations. Further restrictions were also imposed: slang and dialect terms are included only if they have found their way into the main currents of American writing, and no term has been included for which printed authority does not exist before 1901, although often the record of quotations is carried down almost to the present. The result of all this is that the reader is frequently at a loss to know whether he is likely to find what he wants in the DAE; the particular term or significance may be there or it may not, and not always is it possible to determine the status of an omission—it may be out of bounds, it may be an oversight, or it may have been excluded on insufficient grounds. The game of discovering omissions will go on for many years. The editors themselves are already playing it and will welcome the participation of others.

This difficulty is inherent in the DAE and could not have been avoided by either restriction or extension of scope. The user will always feel some uncertainty about what he will find. Usually he will find abundance.

Physically, the "Dictionary of American English" exists in 2,500 copies consisting each of four large quarto volumes and is not likely to be reprinted for years to come. Of these, 450 have been shipped to England, where they are certainly needed in the cause of international understanding. Some fifty others, let us say, will disappear in one way or another, some of them to reappear in mint condition for the use of a later generation. That leaves a scant 2,000 copies, most of them in university or research libraries, to exercise what influence they may on the linguistic consciousness of the American people. What may we expect?

Probably there can be no satisfactory answer to that question. Although we are a nation of dictionary owners, we are not a dictionary-reading people, and the DAE can affect only those who will read it systematically, not necessarily from A to Z, but with a certain persistence and continuity. It is not a book to be flipped open with the aid of a thumb-index, searched hastily for the proper head word, and then returned to the shelf when the tidbit of information for immediate use has been located. Of course, it can serve that purpose too, but it is made to be read with leisure and meditation, and the reader should have in his head both the map of his country and its history. Then the DAE comes to life and becomes one of the most memorable of American books. The great feature of the work is its host of dated quotations, many of them full, and an astonishing proportion of them quick with the life of an expanding and developing nation. According to my own rough calculation, there are between 170,000 and 175,000 of them in the 2,528 pages of dictionary matter. One might object, like Mark Twain's miner friend, that the dictionary, while interesting in the main, is much too *various* for comfortable reading. I have not found it so. A magnificent scholarly lexicon, it is also an inexhaustible anthology of American life; and although it does not represent that life with completeness—apparently the editors found little to quote from American philosophers, theologians, scholars, and pure scientists, omitting Jonathan Edwards, Abraham Lincoln, and William James altogether, and preferring Walt Whitman the journalist to Walt Whitman the poet—it mirrors that life as perhaps only one other work does. The reader, as I have said, may not find what he is looking for in the DAE, but like Columbus he will find America.

GEORGE GENZMER

Progressive Liberal Education

VITALIZING LIBERAL EDUCATION: A STUDY OF THE LIBERAL ARTS PROGRAM. By Algo D. Henderson. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

IF EVER there was a time when education was considered just right, history has left no record of it. From Plato's "Laches" to Dewey's "Democracy and Education" every important discussion of education has taken a critical attitude toward existing practices. This is as it should be; even reformers, when they are intelligent, become the critics of

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their own reforms. The history of education, wisely approached, should make us skeptical of any scheme that pretends to lay down the right education for all men at all times in all cultures, and of any tract on education described as the book to end all further books on the subject.

This book by Mr. Henderson, president of Antioch College, is emphatically free of all such pretensions. Taking American democratic society as its point of departure, it proposes to reorganize the liberal-arts program in order to turn out intelligent individuals, aware of the forces shaping the modern world and equipped with the knowledge and skills required to make existing society a better democracy. Mr. Henderson is convinced that this can be done without forcing the personalities of students into one mold or indoctrinating them with philosophical and social dogmas. He believes that it is a primary function of the liberal-arts college to awaken the critical sense in students and to nurture it to a point where, no matter what specific programs and loyalties they support, their basic allegiance will be to the authority of rational, scientific method. Properly conceived and administered, such a liberal-arts program will produce not thinking machines and social technicians but mature persons whose inner resources will give them both the strength and the means to refresh their minds in the thick of struggle.

What makes this book distinctive is its uncommon sense in a field marked by wild and strident claims. It is a modest but effective statement, against a broad background of educational experience, of one variant of the progressive educational philosophy. It is not a reply to the neo-Thomists but a positive formulation of the assumptions, objectives, and modes of operation of the experimental philosophy of liberal education. Its chief weaknesses are a failure to sink its philosophical foundations deep enough and a rather confusing organization of material which runs together discussion of first principles with the minutiae of administative detail. But it is eminently worth reading as a presentation of what may be called the modern point of view in education.

That point of view is reflected in the author's conception of the objectives of a liberal education today, the orientation of its curriculum, and the methods by which teaching and learning are to be carried on. These conceptions raise a whole cluster of problems. One of them is at present the subject of hot debate. I refer to Mr. Henderson's frank proposal that "the curriculum in liberal education should be focused around the study of vital problems of society." Such a position usually encounters the retort that this restricts education to a narrow absorption in the evanescent affairs of the moment and ignores the great classical tradition which is the support of the well-furnished mind. Mr. Henderson meets these and similar criticisms with admirable directness, albeit a little too briefly. Contemporary problems are the point of departure for study, but no important problem can be adequately grasped without exploring the causal and ideational lines that radiate from it into the past. Nothing is more contemporary than present-day totalitarianism. Can its nature be understood without a social and economic analysis of capitalist society? Can we come to grips with its rationalizations and achieve clarity in our own minds without detailed study of the ideas of men like Nietzsche, Hegel, Rousseau, Locke, Hobbes, Aquinas, Aristotle, and Plato, as well as the principles contained in the papal encyclicals of the last few centuries? What subject can bring home more forcibly the importance of sound ideas on biology and the logic of evidence? It is the great problems of the present, and they alone, which provide a focus of *relevance* to which to relate the study of the past. Otherwise how determine in an intelligent way at what point in the past to begin, what to include out of its inexhaustible materials, and what contributions to stress?

Those who would exclude concern with the major cultural problems of our time or subordinate them to the study of the past are, in effect, saying that the social and political problems of Graeco-Roman and medieval culture, out of which many of the great classics were born, are worth studying but not our own. It would be hard to justify this except on the assumption that the true answers to our problems can best be found by assaying the heritage of antiquity and the Middle Ages.

This assumption is made almost explicitly by the powerful neo-Thomist opposition to centering the liberal-arts curriculum around contemporary cultural problems. It believes that the classic tradition should be made focal in college studies because it is a great storehouse of truth which provides answers to the perennial problems of human life and destiny. Grant for a moment that there are perennial problems and even truths, why cannot they emerge from a consideration of the important issues of *our* age? What is eternally true must be true at any time. Even if the whole of this opposition's dubious metaphysics and still more dubious theology were sound, it could be shown that its educational program is pedagogically unsound. For whatever the alleged advantages of a curriculum organized around the materials of the past, they can be won also by intelligent study of modern culture. The enormous differential gain in this latter approach is that the knowledge and values which emerge from inquiries into the massive and dramatic problems of our time have a definite relevance to the perennial task of making life better here and now.

On the other hand, if we assume that we already are in possession of eternal truths discovered by the past and that we need only apply them to the present, we are likely to overlook what is distinctive in our own times. The natural bias would be to discount evidence showing that the propositions believed eternally true are actually false or have only a limited historical validity. The creative sterility of modern adherents of great systems of past thought is in part due to their failure to dip into the fresh seas of contemporary experience to test and amplify their stock of "eternal" truths. Further, the whole notion that the past is to be ransacked only to discover the "truths" it can bequeath to the present is parochial. Its more fruitful use, as in literature and art, where the past is not relevant to programs of action, is the ever-present occasion it offers for the enlargement of meanings and the cultivation of the imagination. Mr. Henderson's liberal-arts program makes ample provision for this.

As a matter of fact, those who glorify the past usually do so from a standpoint which not only has a contemporary impact but grows out of a social position and interest of

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which they are not always aware. The signficance of the past is not a physical object like the shards recovered from an excavation site. It must be interpreted. And since it has many interpretations, there are as many "pasts" as there are significances that can be drawn from a never-ending series of "presents." Often the genuine issue between the protagonists of classical or modern emphasis in curricular studies is a radical difference in *contemporary* outlook and program. The past is used as a weapon in a present struggle over a present issue which should be frankly brought into the light. The real point of the attack on progressive education is an attack on secular education. And this attack is part of a much larger campaign against the ideals of a secular culture free of controls by dogmatic theology or political religions. Here, then, is one of the basic issues in modern education, one which will not be resolved in the schools but in the wider area of social and political life.

SIDNEY HOOK

Land of the Louche

NOW I LAY ME DOWN TO SLEEP. By Ludwig Bemelmans. The Viking Press. $2.50.

SOME years ago Ludwig Bemelmans published a short story in which he described how he crossed the Atlantic in one of the Normandie's glittering *suites de grand luxe.* "I think the tips on that voyage," he wrote, "amounted to more than the whole price of the voyage. I never enjoyed such service."

On the return trip, however, Bemelmans wanted "to experience how a man feels who has no money, or very little, and who has to live in the third class." There, to his surprise, he found that "a glass of *vin ordinaire* is good, the *cuisine bourgeoise* excellent." But he did not like "the vibration and the pitching," neither the child who ate himself sick on ice cream, nor the man at his table whose name was Ginsberg and had dirty fingernails.

Mr. Bemelmans's first novel suggests that he has taken good care to stay on the upper deck ever since. "Now I Lay Me Down to Sleep" is the funniest book I have read in recent years. It also contains many passages of superb writing. Bemelmans doesn't seem to know what a literary cliché is. Parts of his book have behind them the quality and the mentality of the late Ronald Firbank—but of a less precious, more prolific Firbank, whose day begins before lunch and whose evenings are spent in the *demi-* rather than the *beau-monde.* Most writers could profit from a study of Bemelmans's prose. Henry Miller, for example, with his passion for the unprintable, could take a lesson in subtlety from the following paragraph:

> Mrs. Bosch whispered to the steward to go and see what the guest wanted, but the ardent steward, breathing heavily, pressed her against the wall again, and in two brief short words offered to do for the General what he had so successfully accomplished with Mrs. Bosch herself the night before.

General Leonidas Erosa—not a General at all, of course—is a seventy-year-old, fabulously wealthy South American, whose chest looks "like a sofa ripped open," and who owns two fantastic homes—one an Art Nouveau *Schloss* in Ecuador, the other a vast villa in Biarritz, from which, when Europe begins to look unhealthy, he sets out—via Casablanca and New York—to South America, accompanied by his most peculiar retinue. For like most rich and lonely men, the General is surrounded not by friends, but servants, some of whom are crooks who rob him right and left—a practice of which the General approves—and one of whom, his Indian gardener, tries to suffocate his master after that man has lashed him across the face with a whip. This is the only occasion on which the General, who suffers from epileptic fits, resorts to violence. For the remainder of three hundred pages he is a funny, pathetic, wise, not ungenerous character, who spends his alcoholic, not so very unhappy days in the *louche* world of Ritz hotels, sumptuous suites of ships, superb food, his evenings in expensive *boites,* and his nights with other men's wives and Indian girls whom he discards —for that seems to be the custom in Ecuador—when they are pregnant. And he dies, not without dignity and courage, trapped by an earthquake in his own swimming pool.

This story is said to be an allegory. An allegory of what? Its publishers describe it as "a lamp hung out in the darkness of our time, to cheer us on our way." Where to?

True, we are cheered while we read it, but when we have laid it down, to sleep, we dream of our way lined with waiters holding out to us ice-cold magnums of Roederer Brut, and some of us, who have no money, or very little, cannot afford, are not at all sure that we even want, to enjoy such service.

JAMES STERN

Guides to India

INTRODUCTION TO INDIA. By F. R. Moraes and Robert Stimson. Oxford University Press. $2.

REPORT ON INDIA. By T. A. Raman. Oxford University Press. $2.50.

DURING the last war Americans discovered Europe. During this war they are discovering Asia, and thousands of American and British troops in India, along with many more thousands of their relatives and friends at home, have overnight become concerned with that ancient land. The result has been to break down national and cultural insularities—which in turn creates problems of inter-group relationships. The success of any new world order will depend to a great extent upon our ability to ease now the meeting of peoples and cultures. Sympathetic guides are essential.

The first of the two volumes under review was written, by an Indian and an Englishman, with a specific end in mind, that of providing British and American troops now in India with a "quick and balanced" survey of the country; and they have produced an excellent book that can be read with pleasure and profit not only by foreign soldiers now stationed in India but by everyone interested in and unfamiliar with the Indian scene. This is the briefest and best introduction to India in the English language that I have seen.

The authors provide thumb-nail sketches of the land and the races that inhabit it, of life in rural India, of the birds, beasts, and plants that make India a poet's paradise. Their account of the nationalist movement is all too brief, but it is balanced and clear. And finally there is a most useful section, entitled "Classified Information," which covers, dic-

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tionary-wise, subjects ranging from Gandhi and the Maharajahs to the joint family system and prohibition.

Mr. Raman's "Report on India" is a competent and lucid piece of journalism. It too is designed to serve as an introduction to India. It includes generous information on such subjects as Indian history, Indo-British relations, nationalist aspirations, cows and caste, and India's rapid and astounding industrialization. It has useful maps, an appendix, a bibliography, and an index.

But the *raison d'être* of Mr. Raman's book appears when he comes to discuss India and the war, the Cripps mission and its aftermath, and political parties and personalities. Nationalists are not likely to agree with Mr. Raman's interpretations. And though some Indians might support his views, his book is bound to be regarded, among students of India, as a brilliant presentation of the British case. That the brief comes from an Indian makes it all the more effective as support for the current British argument.

The villain of Mr. Raman's piece is Mahatma Gandhi and its hero is L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India. On page 183, for instance, Mr. Raman writes as follows: "The present writer believes that Gandhi . . . deliberately pitched the demand so high and maneuvered leaders like Nehru behind it in order to make a settlement during the war impossible, a settlement which, perforce, has to be on the basis of wholehearted support of the war." Mr. Raman is entitled to his opinions, but I am afraid that a vast majority of his countrymen will not share his views.

KRISHNALAL SHRIDHARANI

MOTION PICTURE

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FILMS

THIS week I want briefly to mention several films which should have been reviewed sooner.

The Army Orientation film "The Negro Soldier" is straight and decent as far as it goes, and means a good deal, I gather, to most of the Negro soldiers who have seen it. It is also pitifully, painfully mild; but neither the film nor those who actually made it should be criticized for that. The mildness is, rather, a cruel measure of the utmost that the War Department dares or is willing to have said on the subject. The same mildness makes the film amenable to very broad public distribution, without wholly obviating its almost certain good effect upon a massive white audience which needs to be reached and influenced, however tamely. Whether tougher treatments ever get to the screen depends, in part, on how many people see this one. And that may largely depend on the efforts of the Negroes and whites whom this particular film is surest to disappoint. For I suspect that most exhibitors are going to need encouragement from the audience, in one form or another, to ask for the film at all—to say nothing of advertising it. And I believe that to many people the screen presentation of the Negro as something other than a clown, a burnt-cork Job, or a plain imbecile, will be more startling and more instructive than we are likely to imagine.

"The Purple Heart" is Darryl Zanuck beating his Hollywood rivals to the draw with a Japanese atrocity picture. It is a fictional account, much more controlled than it might have been, of the trial and torture of eight American fliers who were captured after the Doolittle raid. Under Lewis Milestone's direction, his best in years, it is unusually edged, well-organized, and solidly acted. But I feel extremely queasy watching fiction—especially persuasive fiction—which pretends to clarify facts that are not clear, and may never become so. Conditioned by such amphibious and ambiguous semi-information, we are still more likely than otherwise to do things to defeated enemies which, both morally and materially, will finally damage us more deeply even than them.

I feel an even sharper objection to the moment, in "Passage to Marseille," when Humphrey Bogart, on a ship representing France, slaughters the surviving helpless crew of a wrecked plane which represents conquered Germany. Victor Francen is shocked, to be sure; but Bogart is the star, from whom the majority will accordingly accept advice on what to do with Germany. Aside from this scene the picture is regulation Nordhoff and Hall, Warner Brothers, Michael Curtiz fustian about Devil's Island, French fascists, and French patriots—fair-to-dull melodramatic entertainment, needled with political consciousness.

In "The Fighting Seabees" American bulldozers engage in direct combat with Japanese tanks, but this opportunity for a few minutes of wonderful film is almost completely muffed. The Japanese are represented, both verbally and by mannerism, as subhuman. One is caught up screaming in the jaws of a steam-shovel; he is shot and dropped. The dramatic intention is apparently one of grim humor but I wonder whom the laugh is on.

"The Sullivans" sketches the life story of the five brothers who were killed at once in the South Pacific. The streets, back-yards, porch-life, and interiors are quite good. The treatment of the human being is limpid, simple, and nearly always unimaginative. The emotional impact, for me, was almost nil, in part because nobody really came to life, in part because the effort to reenact and to exploit these real and vanished lives seemed to me somehow scarcely sane; I wish I knew why.

"No Greater Love," a Russian film about a woman guerrilla leader, has a kind of ferocity and ugliness which none of these American films approach; but I feel less uneasy about it than about them. I think the thing which gives this film a full existence and a full right to it is an earned immediacy and passion which the American films entirely lack. The acting is furious and hyperbolic yet proper to the overall key of frenzy. The photography would be discarded by any Hollywood studio: it is harsh, often crude, always sensitive to time, place, weather, substance, atmosphere, and the presence of life. I would have preferred superimposed printed dialogue to the dramatic-school and Theatre Union sorts of voices which were dubbed in; even if they had been excellent I suspect that their safe, hermetic, reenacted quality would have been inescapable, and would have created a strange and disturbing lesion of one's time sense in seeing and hearing the film. On the screen you see it happening; at the same moment the voices are saying, this happened, and this is roughly how. But dubbing is likely to lift this and future Russian films clear of their pitifully narrow American circuit of a few dozen little "art" theaters, and that is all to the good. People may now get a chance to learn what they, and Hollywood, are cheating each other out of. Ideally, "No Greater Love" should be double-billed, all over the country, with "The North Star."

"The Uninvited," through an adroit counterpointing, syncopating, and cumulation of the natural and the supernatural, turns a mediocre story and a lot of shabby clichés into an unusually good scare-picture. It seems to me harder to get a fright than a laugh, and I experienced thirty-five first-class jolts, not to mention a well-calculated texture of minor frissons.

"Standing Room Only" does pretty well with stale material too—Toryish tropes like the Washington room shortage, feminized husbands, female soldiers, imbecilic bureaucrats, pitiless servants. The lines are utterly insincere and slickly witty, the directing is fairly flip and observant, and some of the performances are fine, especially that of Roland Young, who is able to make anything he appears in seem much more intelligent, human, and amusing than it has any intrinsic right to.

"Lady in the Dark" is something I'm not sure I can talk about fairly, for the whole idea of mixing psychoanalysis and production numbers leaves me irrecoverably cold. Sketching my ideal MGM production of "The Brothers Karamazov" years ago, I cast Fred Astaire as Alyosha (against a more logical MGM choice of Hardie Albright) to make possible a great dancing sequence called Alyosha's Dream, in which Grushenka (Marlene Dietrich) would appear variously as herself, the Virgin, Mary Magdalene, and Father Zossima. Those who would like to see such a sequence done sincerely, the only proper way, may find a good deal to enjoy in "Lady in the Dark." But I like my dreams the hard way.

"Up In Arms," which puts Danny Kaye through a Sam Goldwyn war, ought logically to leave me just as cold, but I enjoyed it. The war is nothing like that fought on land, sea, or even in "The North Star." The Goldwyn Girls look like real live women instead of the customary radio-cap sculptures. There are some pleasant, silly gags by Don Martman of the Crosby-Hope-Lamour Roads-to-everywhere. All that aside, Danny Kaye is the whole show, and everything depends on whether or not you like him. I do.

JAMES AGEE

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MUSIC

THE Metropolitan has not accepted the contention that all its performances should be given in English so that the audiences may understand the words that are sung and know what the operas are about; but it has done so for operatic comedies, or rather for some of them—for Puccini's "Gianni Schicchi," Mozart's "Magic Flute," and now Verdi's "Falstaff."

It is true that an audience needs to know what an opera is about. But I question whether this is more true of the comedies than of the tragedies, or of the comedies I have just mentioned than of Mozart's "Marriage of Figaro" and "Don Giovanni" or Rossini's "Barber of Seville." And I doubt that the knowledge is achieved by having the opera sung in English. If the advocates of opera in English were to attend a performance in Berlin or Vienna, where all operas are sung in German, they would see as many people reading librettos as are to be seen in the Metropolitan, and for the same reason—the fact that the words are difficult, and for the most part impossible, to hear and understand: often they have been distended to unintelligibility in the process of being fitted to the music; often they are drowned by the orchestra; and most of the audience are too far from the stage. Having been taken to "Falstaff" by a friend I heard it from an excellent seat in row R of the Parquet; moreover I was listening to a delicately orchestrated work; yet only very few of the words reached my ears, and I would have had no understanding of what was going on if I had had to get it from the words that I could hear. Even when the opera is sung in English, then, one must read the words in advance to know what it is about, precisely as one must for a performance in Italian or German. And if that is so the advance reading should be done for a performance in Italian or German. That is, when the only reason for English turns out to be without force, the force of the reasons against English and for the original language should be deferred to.

For one thing there is the fact—which I was made freshly aware of by the "Falstaff" performance—that when one strains to hear all the words one doesn't hear the music; and the music is the point of the whole business. One doesn't go to the Metropolitan for the play of "Norma" or "Aida" or "Salome" or "Tristan" or even "Falstaff"; one doesn't go for the words that Verdi ordered from his librettist by the pound or the ones that Wagner himself perpetrated. One goes for the music about that play, the music that is hung on those words, the music that has much the same relation to the action and words as Cézanne's still-life has to the apples and pears which he painted. Since action and words are there one wants to know what they are about, and indeed one has to know for the music itself to have its full significance and effect; but the following of the drama should be such as not to distract one's attention from the music—which is to say that it should be a recognition of what one already knows, not a straining to discover what one doesn't know.

Then there is the fact that a performance in English sacrifices the effect of the sound of the original language; and the loss is greatest where the greatest gain is claimed for English—in comedy. Even in the long stretches where words cannot be heard clearly enough to be understood the loss of the mere sound of the Italian syllables is like the loss of an instrumental color in the orchestral part. But the argument for English is concerned with the places where the words come through clearly, and where, it is contended, the audience must understand them so that it may get the humorous points and laugh. But these are salient places which are planned for laughs; and because of the way they are contrived they are places which remain in the mind of anyone who reads the libretto, so that he recognizes and understands Dame Quickly's unctuous *Revere-e-e-e-nza!* as she curtsies, her repeated exclamation *Po-o-o-vera donna!*, her *Siete un gran seduttore!* as she pokes Falstaff in the ribs, and in addition he gets from these Italian statements something that is lost in *Oh most honored sir!* or *Unhappy lady!* or *You're a wicked seducer!* He understands Falstaff's argument with Ford over precedence at the end of the act, and enjoys the additional effect, with the delightful music, of the words *Prima voi . . . Prima voi* and *Passate . . . Prego.*

And finally there is what the decision to use English cost this particular Metropolitan production of "Falstaff" in effectiveness, on top of the losses due to other things. Beecham, giving his own explanation why the work is not more of a box-office attraction, thinks that the six scenes are too many "for the thin shape and light weight of the piece; and the ensemble movements, until the very close when it is too late, have not the time to gather momentum and thrill the ear with that irresistible flood of tone that we have in the great finales of 'Aida' and 'Otello' "; and he observes that while "Falstaff" has exquisite and haunting fragments of melody it has "no tunes of a broad and impressive character . . . of the type of *Ritorno vincitor* or *Ora per sempre addio* [which] might have saved the situation." But whenever I have heard the work conducted by Toscanini every one of those six scenes has ended in a storm of applause; and the reason has been its mercurial swiftness and lightness and effortlessness even in the difficult double ensembles. Initially these qualities have represented Toscanini's feeling for the pace and character of the work; but after that they have come out of the hours and hours of rehearsal, the sheer hard work that is necessary to produce the appearance of ease. Beecham's performance also had lightness and exquisite contours and textures; but his pace was often a little deliberate; and the normal Metropolitan conditions of insufficient rehearsal resulted in raggedness and strain in some of the ensembles. But in addition the decision to use English-speaking singers in an English production compelled the use of young singers, most of them—Steber, Greer, Browning, Kullman—quite acceptable, but one of them, Margaret Harshaw, without the weight of voice (to say nothing of weight of body) for Dame Quickly. And above all it hung a dead weight on the performance in the Falstaff of Tibbett.

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

WILLARD SHELTON is an editorial writer for the Chicago *Sun*. He formerly conducted the editorial page of the St. Louis *Star-Times*.

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JULES MOCH was a Socialist deputy and minister in pre-war France. After the capitulation he was active in the underground movement until forced to flee the country. He then became a commander in the Fighting French Navy, and is now a member of the Consultative Assembly.

MARIANNE MOORE, formerly an editor of the *Dial*, is the author of "What Are Years."

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Letters to the Editors

In Defense of Vansittart

Dear Sirs: The time has come for somebody in this country to say a word or two in defense of Lord Vansittart. No other political figure on our side is being so constantly misquoted and misrepresented in so lighthearted and highhanded a manner.

In his article "Germany, Economic Heart of Europe" (*The Nation,* February 12) Fritz Sternberg speaks of "shelves of books and hundreds of articles" which, he says, have been produced in Britain and the United States during the past year, "recommending the dismemberment of Germany proper." To prove that this is the only possible course, goes on Mr. Sternberg, "it is explained that the Germans are by nature aggressive." Without at this time entering "upon a discussion of the German character," Mr. Sternberg would "merely remind the Vansittarts high and low that the Russians . . . do not demand that Germany be dismembered."

It may be that, by referring to Lord Vansittart in the plural, Mr. Sternberg means to accomplish what others achieve by alluding to "Vansittartism," rather than to the individual in question. When told that none of the "recommendations" attributed to "Vansittartism" have been made by Vansittart, they are apt to point out that any similarity between the noun and the name is almost purely accidental. Be that as it may, I should like to call Mr. Sternberg's attention to two facts: (1) Lord Vansittart—high or low—has never recommended the dismemberment of Germany proper; (2) nor has he ever accused the Germans of being "aggressive by nature."

All Vansittart has recommended, and keeps recommending, is that the early emergence after Hitler's fall of a peaceable, democratic, and trustworthy Germany be not taken for granted. To quote from an interview he gave me in the fall of 1941: "The peaceful and civilized elements which undoubtedly exist and always existed in Germany . . . are not, and never have been, capable of exercising any moderating influence. To rely on them, and again stake the fate of humanity on their ability suddenly to acquire such influence, would be suicidal."

That is about as far as his "recommendations" go, even today. Germany, he maintains, must be rendered harmless. "Unilateral disarmament," as postulated in the Atlantic Charter, must be carried out to the letter. This necessitates Allied supervision for some time to come of Germany's industrial output, its foreign trade, its educational system. The Prussian spirit must disappear from the German schools and universities. "We must do everything in our power to bring about in Germany that change of heart without which no peace could ever last."

As to the political future of the Reich, Vansittart has not advanced any specific plan. He has, however, taken pains to show that the Germans are aggressive, not "by nature" (he is no racist, Mr. Sternberg!), but by tradition and education. And although both "Black Record" and "Lessons of My Life" contain a number of passages which I find contestable—to put it mildly—his knowledge of at least certain aspects of the German character—a knowledge born of suffering—*is* undeniable. So is the sincerity of his endeavor to prove by facts the validity of his theories.

No such effort can be detected in the concluding paragraphs of Mr. Sternberg's article, which thus remains inconclusive.

Ninety percent of the German people, he asserts, would be opposed to dismemberment. Why of course they would. They would be equally opposed to the cession of East Prussia to Poland, to unilateral disarmament, in short to each and every measure the United Nations may deem necessary. They are strictly opposed to losing Hitler's war.

"So it is to be hoped," winds up Mr. Sternberg, "that Germany will be allowed to remain undivided in its 1919 boundaries. Only on that condition will the progressive left forces *which are capable of setting up a Socialist democracy* (italics mine) be able gradually to win the upper hand. Nothing would so injure their growth or so limit their accomplishment as the rise of a new German nationalism, a development which would be greatly accelerated by any dismemberment of Germany." No proof whatever is offered for the contention that any "left progressive forces"—whose very survival in strength would have to be proved in the first place—are indeed capable. Despite strong evidence to the contrary, their capability is boldly taken for granted.

I do not know whether dismemberment would be advisable in the interest of a less imperfect peace. Nor could I say whether Mr. Sternberg is right in assuming that Britain and the United States may be toying with the idea, whereas the U.S.S.R. is dead set against it. But I venture to doubt that the German nationalism which, according to Mr. Sternberg, would be so stimulated by dismemberment, is much in need of any such stimulus. It seems alive and kicking—playing havoc with the minds of German Nazis and anti-Nazis, leftists, rightists, and centrists alike. It is not "new," though. It is old.

ERIKA MANN

New York, February 11

Mr. Sternberg Replies

Dear Sirs: In defense of Lord Vansittart Miss Erika Mann writes:

"(1) Lord Vansittart—high or low—has never recommended the dismemberment of Germany proper."

I did not accuse him of recommending it. What I said was this: it is on the premise that the Germans are by nature aggressive that the dismemberment of Germany is so often demanded. This fact cannot be denied.

Miss Mann again:

"(2) Nor has he [Lord Vansittart] ever accused the Germans of being 'aggressive by nature' "; on the contrary, "he has . . . taken pains to show that the Germans are aggressive, not 'by nature' (he is no racist, Mr. Sternberg!), but by tradition and education."

What, actually, does Sir Robert Vansittart say? In the preface to "The Black Record," published by Hamish Hamilton, London, we find on page 4 these words:

> Germans have made five wars in the last seventy-five years, besides four 'near misses.' If Germans had had their way, there would have been a war every eight years for the last three-quarters of a century. This sequence is due to their character and system.

Thus Sir Robert Vansittart's view is not, as Miss Mann writes, that Germany's aggressiveness is due to tradition and education, but that it is due to the German character. And as if to make it

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impossible to misunderstand his position, Sir Robert says on page 6:

> The atrocities committed under this German regime, and in this German war, and the open return to literal slavery in Europe, are no accidental and ephemeral outcrop. They are a reversion to something much farther back than the Kaiser, or Bismarck, or Frederick, to the doings of a thousand, and two thousand, years ago. . . . I am simply saying that mankind has suffered atrociously from a series of gratuitous wars. These wars have been inflicted on mankind by one race, and mainly for one reason.

I believe that is clear enough.

There is a certain piquancy in the fact that one of the supporters of Vansittart today is Emil Ludwig, who supported German nationalism and imperialism with all his strength during World War I and now demands the dismemberment of Germany.

Proofs of the strength of the progressive left forces in Germany, which Miss Mann finds lacking in my article, naturally cannot be exhibited under the rule of the Gestapo. Their strength will show itself in the bloody revolutionary conflicts which will some day break out in Germany and all over Europe. It would be disastrous for the future of the whole European continent if the issues in these world-shaking civil wars should be confused by nationalist and separatist questions—as they undoubtedly will be if Germany is dismembered. On this point Miss Mann characteristically takes no position ("I do not know whether dismemberment would be advisable").

FRITZ STERNBERG

New York, February 21

A Letter of Resignation

Dear Sirs: As my name has been publicly associated with the work of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, and I am now resigning from that body, I ask you to publish a copy of my letter of resignation so that my reasons for doing so may be quite clear. I wrote to the national secretary as follows:

"I am writing to tender my resignation from the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, and to ask you to withdraw my name from the list of members of its executive committee. As you know from our previous correspondence, I have postponed my resignation until I was assured that the Emergency Committee had done the work for which it was created and that further work along those lines was in the hands of those best fitted to carry it out.

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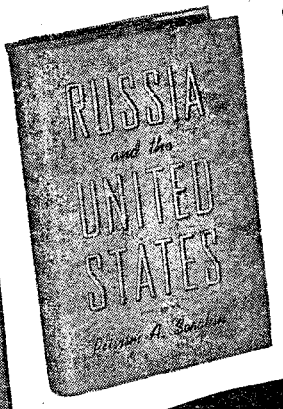

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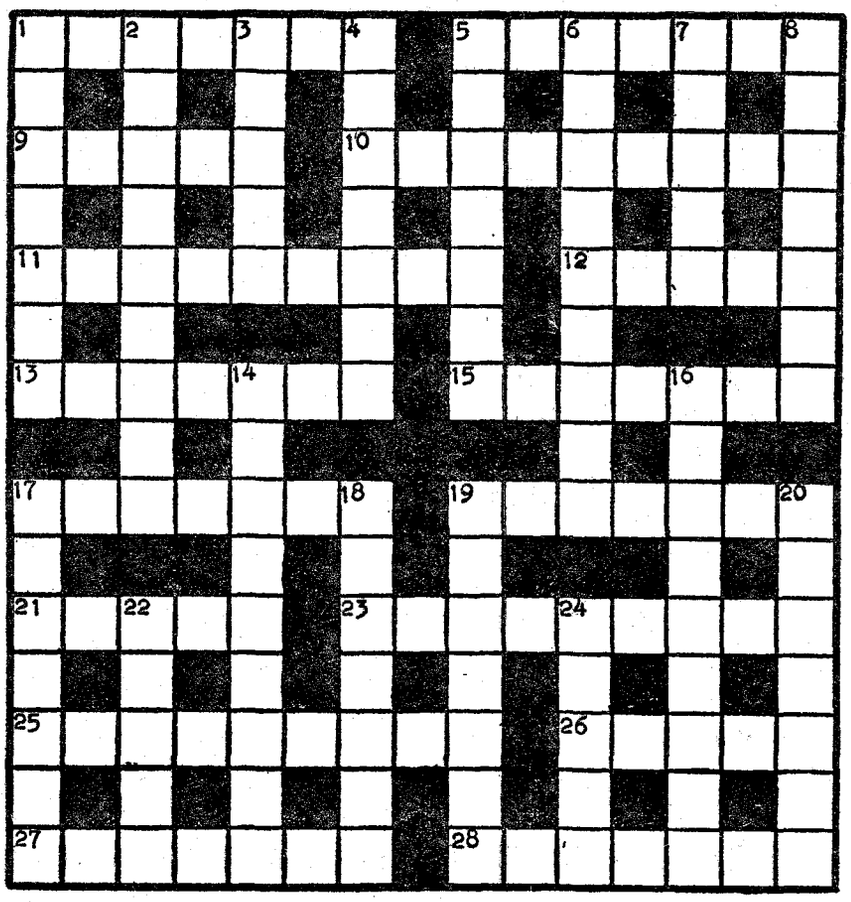
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 55

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 What would you take to let a man give you a blow on the head? (two words, 1 and 6)
5 Another victory over the Romans would have finished him
9 In an elephant or in a wall plant
10 Patients get the needle when doctors do this
11 Touched in a childish game (two words, 6 and 3)
12 One who doesn't mind taking his medicine
13 Everybody makes them, but it's mostly chemists who use them
15 He of "The Lord is a shoving leopard" fame
17 Intends to be different
19 "Never ------- her with word too large" (Much Ado About Nothing)
21 New England accent
23 Loquacious
25 I get at one (anag.)
26 Rows in the upper circles, perhaps
27 You have probably read his Faerie Queen?
28 Ted Ray's wandered from the fold

DOWN

1 The airman got out of Australia via Torres Strait
2 Long drawn out
3 Sharper than a mayfly, perhaps
4 They have their work cut out for them
5 That's the way of it
6 Why should it turn? It's the same on every side (hyphen, 5 and 4)
7 Human hat-pegs
8 Film actress who should be useful in the cutting room
14 A stage urn (anag.)
16 Eliza Doolittle's famous retort in Shaw's Pygmalion (suitably edited, of course) (two words, 3 and 6)
17 Purposes—of living under canvas?
18 The barometer reading most of us prefer (two words, 3 and 4)
19 Good ones are said to be found only in Paris
20 In evening clothes
22 Fish
24 A Croat turned Thespian

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 54

ACROSS:—1 PUGILISM; 8 ILLEGAL; 9 LINCHPIN; 10 SILENCE; 12 STEER; 13 EVENER; 14 GIPSY; 15 ALARIC; 17 PAYEE; 22 SPREE; 23 EDITOR; 24 RATIO; 26 GROUCH; 28 RELIC; 29 PHANTOM; 30 SO LITTLE; 31 KNITTED; 32 HERE GOES.

DOWN:—1 POLESTAR; 2 GUNMETAL; 3 LEHAR; 4 SPINET; 5 PLAIN; 6 REVERIE; 7 CARCASS; 10 SEDAN; 11 LEGEND; 16 IMPORT; 18 BEGUM; 19 STILETTO; 20 BRACKETS; 21 WASHING; 22 SIGNETS; 25 THRONE; 27 OOZED; 28 RHINE.

"When I joined the Emergency Committee it was with the single thought of helping as far as I could to save the European Jews from persecution and death. With the appointment of the War Refugee Board, the work of the Committee seems to have been accomplished. The task of rescuing the Jewish people is now in the competent hands of that board and of Mr. Pehle. The gathering of funds to assist the work of the board can best be accomplished by the United Jewish Appeal, a long-established fund-raising organization which supports three agencies working for the rescue and rehabilitation of the Jews: the Joint Distribution Committee, the United Palestine Committee, and the National Refugee Service. I can therefore see no season for the continuation of the Emergency Committee.

"There is, moreover, a further reason for my feeling that the Emergency Committee can no longer serve the ends for which it was instituted. Its prime movers and most active members are also associated with the League for a Free Palestine, a political organization which I believe to be inimical to the best interests of the Jews established in Palestine and their friends everywhere. I cannot be convinced that the proponents of the league, however good their intentions, will continue to subordinate their concern for the league, which is their long-term and primary objective, to other ends. And I must therefore dissociate myself from this group."

BABETTE DEUTSCH

New York, February 26.

RECENTLY PUBLISHED

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Silly Girl: A Portrait of Personal Remembrance. By Angna Enters. Houghton Mifflin. $3.50.

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